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CHINA'S REVOLUTION FROM THE INSIDE

R. Y. LO, Ph. D.

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China's Revolution From the Inside

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By
R. Y. LO, Ph.D.

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TO

DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON AND ALL OTHERS

WHO POSSESS A SYMPATHETIC

UNDERSTANDING OF CHINA'S PROBLEMS

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FOREWORD

THIS little volume is the result of years of study and observation. Since its first writing in 1926, it has been rewritten twice in order to bring it as nearly up to date as possible. The difficulty of writing on China can be easily appreciated when one keeps in mind the fact that conditions are changing with bewildering rapidity and that they vary greatly in different portions of the country.

The main purpose of the volume is to describe the currents and undercurrents of life in Chinese society which mark the dawning of a new era. It is hoped that the readers of these pages will have a better and more sympathetic understanding of China's problems.

Shanghai, China.

CHAPTER I

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE REVOLUTION

THE time of this writing is the eighteenth year (1929) of the Chinese Republic. Looking back at the events of the past seventeen years, it is fairly clear that so far as true awakening is concerned, China has been on the line of progress rather than regress. It is true there have been reactions and counter-reactions, yet the Republic survives and the struggle for true democracy goes on. At times the country appeared to have become hopelessly entangled in civil strife, but each time she was able to emerge by means of compromise and adjustment. The fact that twice the monarchical form of government was attempted and that the Republic remains, augurs well for the future of republicanism in China.

The Republic is now an established institution of over seventeen years' standing. During these years it has had multifarious problems to solve, among them the aggression of the foreign powers, the self-aggrandizement of the Militarists, the denseness of the igno-

rance of most of the people, the keenness of their poverty, and their indifference toward politics. All these difficulties will have to be surmounted before true democracy is to reign. It was easy to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, but not so easy to displace all the dynastic practices in the way of administration and to rebuild the country. It was easy to eliminate the old parasitic nobility, but not so easy to produce great, unselfish leaders to take their places. We have broken away from the old political order, but we have yet to establish a new one that is worthy of China's potentialities.

It is indeed a tremendous task laid upon our leaders, one for which they may well brace their strength and put iron into their wills. If they patiently and calmly meet these problems, complicated as they are, in time they will evolve one of the best forms of government the world has ever known. History teaches us that no nation was born complete, but that each nation slowly grew by decades and centuries. "Tens of years are required to raise a harvest of trees, but hundreds of years are required to raise a crop of men" (Chinese proverb).

The real beginning of China's struggle for constitutional government dates back to the year 1898, when a series of reform edicts was

issued by the Emperor Kwang Hsu, in response to a joint memorial of Liang Chi-chao and Kang Yu-wei, both imperial advisers to the emperor. This was stimulated by the unsuccessful war with Japan in 1895. The humiliating defeat suffered at the hands of despised Japan disclosed the weakness of the government in a new-found world and gave an effective stimulus for reform. Consequently, the intelligent elements of the country cried for reform, but, owing to the conservative elements of the country, no real steps were taken to make serious changes in government.

After a series of national disasters the need of reform sank deeply home among the conservatives as well as the progressives. The disastrous failure of the reactionary movement of the year 1900 drove even the empress dowager and her coterie of the most conservative royalists to institute governmental reforms. Meanwhile, on the part of the people there was constant demand for a written constitution and for a voice in the government. Failing to obtain their wishes, violent measures were frequently taken as protests. Being thus pressed by forces without and within, the empress dowager was finally constrained to make some changes in government in order to pacify the clamorous people. A commission of five was sent abroad to study the conditions

of foreign countries and make a report. On their return these commissioners gave a full statement of what they had seen and suggested the adoption of a constitutional government. In response to this suggestion, the Court granted a constitution.

On October 27, 1907, an imperial edict announced that a constitution would be adopted and a National Assembly would be convened ten years from date. A course of nine years of preparation was to elapse before the projected constitution was to become an actual fact. A "scheme of reform" was proposed for each year, beginning in 1908. There was to be reform in education, justice, finance, local government, leading to the final grant of a national constitution. Another step taken toward the convocation of a National Assembly and the formulation of a written constitution was the order that there be organized a State Council for the purpose of advising the government in administrative affairs.

This did not satisfy the people, as the Manchu government was not sincere in carrying out what it had promised; lavish edicts were issued merely to stop the revolutionists, who unceasingly and unweariedly clamored for better government. Therefore special delegations were sent from different sections of the country to petition for an earlier estab-

lishment of this representative body. It was their contention that the country was quite ready for a constitutional government, and that the shortening of the "Period of Preparation" (1908-1917) would soon create a national consciousness. Similar petitions were again and again presented until the Court felt compelled to shorten the period to five years. An edict was issued granting the convocation of a National Assembly in 1913. Having reluctantly made the grant, the Manchus organized a responsible Cabinet to pave the way for a constitutional government. It was largely composed of inefficient royal members, who had no knowledge whatever of affairs of state. This led to the shattering of public confidence in the pledged word of the Manchus which eventually accelerated the revolution of 1911.

It is interesting to see how the Manchus yielded only at the point of the bayonet. During the eventful year of 1911 nineteen articles making special grants were promulgated, with the idea of stopping the revolution and in hope of retaining the royal scepter. Had this "Magna Charta" been promulgated a little earlier, the Manchu regime might have been saved. But it was too late; the dynasty's existence was doomed. The situation was hopeless. The outbreak of 1911 at Wuchang was actu-

ally a fulfillment of the saying, "Rather should the words of the people be guarded against, than a rushing torrent; when the flood bursts its banks, many must be overwhelmed." "Just as the torrent must be directed and controlled, in like manner only can the speech of the people be allowed to flow. What does it profit if a river be dammed so that its flow ceases? Nor can it be set free to flow in disorder; widen its course that it may flow unhindered, but in the proper place. Build high embankments and thus you will preserve your river and hold it in check. Parliament is the bed to guard against the flow of the stream, and the regulations of Parliament are the high embankments to keep in control the rushing torrents."

About two months after the start of the conflict, the revolutionary leaders of the seceding provinces saw the necessity of some sort of a united program by which they could be cemented together. A conference for this purpose was called at Wuchang, to which twenty-three delegates were sent from ten provinces. The delegates sat for three days, the result being the draft of a compact of twenty-one articles, governing the organization of a provisional government. But nothing was mentioned in the compact with regard to the rights of the people. Besides, it was inade-

quate in many other aspects. So that, a few days later, when the revolutionists had taken the city of Nanking, a conference for the purpose of drafting a provisional constitution was called. A committee was appointed to draft the much-needed provisional constitution, which was promulgated on March 11, 1912.

In accordance with the spirit of this constitution, a Provisional Assembly met in Peking and enacted a law providing for a National Assembly and prescribed methods of election for the members of its two houses, which election took place soon after. Two hundred seventy-four senators were chosen by the Provincial Assemblies to represent the various interests of the nation and five hundred ninety-six representatives were elected by the special districts to represent the people of their respective areas. The National Assembly met in April, 1913. Soon after its formal opening both houses set to work on the constitution, which power they had through the articles in the provisional constitution. A joint committee of sixty members appointed by the two houses met in the outer buildings surrounding the court of the Altar of Heaven from July 10 to October 31, 1913. After its conclusion the resulting draft was submitted to the Constitutional Conference, just one day

before Yuan Shi Kai dissolved the Assembly. The Legislature and the executive had been engaging in a war for supremacy. The issue was Yuan's *coup d'état* in dissolving the Kuomin party (People's party) and unseating its members in the two houses, thereby disabling the assembly from functioning for want of a quorum, virtually amounting to a dissolution. The Kuomin party was alleged to have fomented the revolution of July, 1913. The south had become alarmed at the dictatorial power of President Yuan, and there was fear that he would make himself king when an opportune time arrived. The premature revolution broke out in Kiukiang, Kiangsi. Owing to the unpreparedness of the neighboring provinces and the insufficiency of funds and ammunition, the revolution was short-lived. Many were executed, while others found asylum in foreign settlements and foreign countries.

In the absence of the Assembly, Yuan appointed a Constitutional Council, whose function was to propose and to advise legislative measures of a constitutional character. This Council, composed of sixty-five persons in all, represented leaders of the various classes. It was asked to draft a new constitution to supersede the Nanking instrument, namely, the provisional constitution. This new constitu-

tion extended the presidential term to ten years with no bar to re-election. This was adopted in 1914, and on December 9 Yuan was once more elected, under provisions by which his term was to expire in December, 1924. The contents of this constitution were considered to display a monarchical spirit. The president was practically made a dictator, centering all executive, legislative, and judicial powers in himself, leaving little but advisory functions to the legislative organ of the government. On the strength of this constitution, Yuan created a State Council with advisory legislative functions.

The outbreak of the World War in 1914 brought about a new situation in China. As a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Japan declared war on Germany on August 23. This gave Japan a pretext to invade the province of Shantung, to attack the Germans at Kiaochow and take the city of Tsingtao and its vicinity. Following the precedents of the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria, President Yuan marked off a zone of belligerency within which the Germans and Japanese forces were permitted to fight. China remained neutral and was hostile toward none. Suddenly, on January 18, 1915, a most astonishing document was handed to President Yuan by the Japanese minister in Peking, which later be-

came known as the Twenty-one Demands. These demands, if agreed to in entirety, would have made China an economic and administrative vassal to Japan. The immediate cause of the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands was, of course, the unique opportunity furnished by the preoccupation of Europe and America in the Western theater of war. The effect of the Demands on the general populace was the creation of revolutionary and agitational movements against Yuan Shi Kai and a general alarm over Japanese intentions.

It was during this period that the question of changing the form of government to a monarchy was raised. Yuan was already seeking to extend his power and was assuming the position of a dictator. His determination to become emperor was much strengthened by a document prepared by Dr. Frank Goodnow, the American adviser to the Chinese president. This document, which was entitled "The Constitutional Compact," placed all the power in the hands of the president and virtually made him an emperor. In the meantime a society known as Chow An Hui was organized to re-establish the monarchy and to elevate Yuan to the throne. A campaign of literature to convince the public of the superiority of the monarchical system was instituted. A sham People's Convention was called to decide the

issue, which voted in favor of what had been expected, namely, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy with Yuan as emperor. Hence, on December 11, 1915, the State Council invited Yuan to take the throne—an offer which he accepted the next day.

This gave cause for the third revolution, which started in Yunnan and spread to the southwestern provinces, for the people as a whole did not want the change. Those that wanted it were Yuan's own men, expecting promotion upon his ascension to the throne. The convention that recommended his elevation to the throne was skillfully maneuvered. His own men canvassed the entire election. Those who were certified to vote had to vote according to the will of the governors who owed their appointments to Yuan. Hence his claim to popular support for imperial exaltation was not well grounded. There was much expressed discontent among the southern provinces.

An anti-Yuan-monarchy army was organized and was joined by several provinces. The leader of the movement was General Tsai O, a stanch Republican believer and a true patriot. Province after province seceded from the Yuan government. Gradually, through the steady pressure of the revolting provinces, Yuan canceled the action of the State Council

of December 11, 1915, and, on March 22, 1916, ordered the petitions for him to accept the throne to be destroyed. In May of 1916 he promised to organize an anti-monarchical Cabinet and to convoke a popularly elected Assembly. These concessions did not appease the revolutionists, who insisted that Yuan must be removed from the presidency for fear of a revival of his imperial ambition. On this question of removal the South and North were not united. The former contended that Yuan had forfeited the presidency by accepting the invitation to the throne; the latter defended Yuan by maintaining that he was led by false representations to think that he was really acting in conformity with the will of the people. While the country was thus entangled, Providence offered a natural solution. This was Yuan's death in the first week of June, 1916.

The vice-president, Li Yuan-hung, emerged as the legal successor. The Provisional Constitution was revived and members of the Assembly dissolved by Yuan were reinstated. Li Yuan-hung was duly installed as president, and Tuan Chi-jui appointed as premier. Li was a man of democratic principles, leaning more to the side of the Kuomin party. Tuan, however, was a disciple of Yuan, having many sympathizers among the military governors of

the provinces. On account of a difference in policy, the relations between the president and the premier became strained. This situation was later aggravated by the question of China's participation in the European War.

The president and the parliament were united in their opposition to Premier Tuan's proposal favoring China's entering into the European War. The Parliament, however, was anxious to know whether the Cabinet and the Militarists were proposing to negotiate war-participation loans, for it was rumored that a loan arrangement had already been secretly made. Moreover, the Parliament was besieged by mobs, supposed to have been sent there by Militarists with the purpose of coercing the Parliament to yield. This act of coercion, however, made the nation's representatives all the more resolute against China's entrance into the European War. They also demanded the resignation of the Cabinet. In due course most of the ministers resigned, but Tuan, stubborn and isolated, continued. Tuan's enthusiasm for entering the European War was thought not to have been prompted by what China might give or receive through participation, but, rather, what he might do with the South by negotiating a big loan to suppress them. Finally, on May 23, President Li was compelled by public

sentiment to dismiss Tuan from the premiership and to appoint Wu Ting-fang to take his place.

Immediately after the dismissal, the military governors who were in sympathy with the premier declared their independence and threatened to send expeditionary forces to Peking to demand the recall of the premier. At this juncture Chang Shun, the military inspector of the Yangtse Valley, appeared on the scene. Chang was regarded as the man of the hour, to whom the military governors would listen. He was invited to Peking by a mandate to adjust the differences. But this "man of iron" was an ultra-conservative, a top-to-bottom monarchist, believing in his heart that a change of the form of government to a monarchy was the only salvation. Soon after his arrival at the capital he demanded the dissolution of the Assembly as a condition for peace negotiation. This was granted and the Assembly dissolved. Still unsatisfied, he took advantage of the situation and, counting on the support of his allied provinces, made a bold stroke to restore the Manchu regime. This was on the first of July, 1917. Imperial edicts were issued proclaiming the restoration. These did not command obedience outside of Peking. The *coup d'état* was ill-fated. The life of the transient mon-

archy was only ten days. After a few skirmishes with the Republican forces, led by Tuan, in and out of Peking, Chang and his men took flight. Hsuan Tung, the restored emperor, for the second time had to abdicate. Thus the Republic was again granted a renewed lease of life through the steady pressure of Chinese sentiment in its favor.

With the credit of restoring the Republic, the position of Tuan Chi-jui became strengthened. But Feng Kuo-chang was vice-president, the legal successor to the president when the latter is disabled. President Li resigned in favor of Feng, with Tuan remaining as premier. With the absence of a Parliament, and Feng, a weakling, as president, Tuan could now rule as a dictator. He assumed the government and declared war on Germany and Austria on August 14, 1917. To the Militarists this declaration of war meant increased armies and more money, and to Tuan, particularly, it meant an opportunity for concentration of power and suppression of the rebellious Constitutionist South. Having secured one big loan of $300,000,000, with other smaller loans, Tuan and his coterie saw to it that the power of the Anfu Club, a pro-Japanese clique, of which Tuan was the leader, became supreme. Using the money thus obtained, the Anfuites set out to create a "bogus"

Parliament with bribery. This elected Hsu Chi-chang, the one time guardian of the emperor, president of the Republic, September 4, 1918.

It will be recalled, however, that in the summer of 1917, an independent government had been set up in Canton as a protest against the arbitrary dissolution of the Parliament by order of the Militarists. After the inauguration of Hsu Chi-chang as president steps were taken to make peace with this Constitutionalist government of the South. A Peace Conference was called by President Hsu, to take place in Shanghai, with Chu Chi-chien as plenipotentiary for the North, and Tong Shao-yi for the South. The negotiations failed so completely that the Conference went to pieces. The Southern government continued to operate at Canton, and the Civil War thus began.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the Civil War. Suffice it to say that so far as Canton and Peking were concerned, it represented a struggle for supremacy, parliamentary government and military oligarchy, a struggle between democracy and feudalism. In the meantime, from 1918 to 1923, there went on a constant scramble for power between the independent war lords nominally subservient to the Peking regime. These wars

were personal forays of individual war lords grabbing for larger territory and greater power.

During this period the Paris Peace Conference was assembling. News began reaching China that the participating powers were to assign the former rights of the Germans in Shantung to Japan. It was rumored that a huge loan had been secretly made to the Anfu government in order to keep China quiet when this decision was taken. This news soon reached the ears of the students in Peking, who became greatly enraged and inferred that the pro-Japan Anfu ministers must have been involved. Thereupon came the attack on the residences of the three "traitor" ministers, which gave rise to the nation-wide Student Movement, which we shall describe in a separate chapter. This uprising of the students prevented the signing of the Versailles Treaty by the Chinese delegation.

It was soon discovered that President Hsu was too wily to be trusted. His policy was one of playing off one military group against the other. Indeed, he was a trouble-maker, keeping the jealous war lords fighting each other. Nor was he liked by the people. Hence, after the defeat of the Anfu clique by Militarists of the Chih-li clique, Hsu was forced to resign in favor of Li Yuan-hung on June

11, 1922. Li was reluctant to reassume the presidential chair, fully aware that he would be used only as a pawn for Tsao Kun, leader of the Chih-li party, who was elected by Parliament on November 8, 1923.

The Parliament which elected Tsao Kun to the presidency was distrusted by the country on the supposition that the election had been accomplished by bribery. But on October 10, 1924, the twelfth anniversary of the Chinese Republic, this Parliament was able to complete and promulgate the constitution which had been under preparation ever since the year 1915. Soon the Parliament found itself in quarrel with the executive on the Gold Franc issue. The Parliament and the public insisted on paying the French indemnity in francs as the legal tender of France, while France claimed the payment of the indemnity in gold francs. The executive was inclined to accept the French case. It looked for a time as if the Tsao regime would go on the rocks during the deadlock. Apart from all this, however, the days of President Tsao were numbered, as there had already broken out a war between Chekiang and Kiangsu, which involved the future of the Chih-li and Fengtien factions, and which resulted in the defeat of the Chih-li clique, the arrest of President Tsao, and the elimination of Pu-yi from the last

vestige of the title of an emperor. Owing to the inability of Tsao to function as head of the government, the office of provisional chief executive was created. The victorious Militarists agreed to invite Marshal Tuan Chi-jui to accept the chief executive office. This he did on November 22, 1924.

A Reorganization Conference was called to consider the outstanding problems of the country, to which leaders of all factions were invited. Dr. Sun Yat-sen favored the reorganization project, but he differed from the chief executive in that he insisted on calling a People's Convention to solve the problems and to rewrite the constitution. Although he went to Peking to participate, he was unable to accomplish anything, as he was suffering from an incurable cancer and died on March 12, 1925.

About eleven weeks from the date of Doctor Sun's death, the May 30 tragedy occurred in a busy street in the International Settlement of Shanghai, when Chinese students and laborers met their death through a "shoot-to-kill" order from the British police. The shooting and its consequence will be dealt with elsewhere. Other events of the time which had to do with China's diplomatic relations were the holding of the Tariff Conference in Peking, opening on October 26, and

the sending of a commission to investigate the problem of the abolition of extraterritoriality on December 16.

The year 1926 witnessed a continuous strife between the contending forces. It was during this period of struggle that Chief Executive Tuan was ousted from office, leaving the Peking government without a head. It is not necessary to relate further the activities of the Peking government. As one military group or another gained control of Peking it impressed the government into its service, changing Cabinet officials and policies to suit its own purpose. The most startling and dramatic event of the year was the emergence of the Nationalist Movement. In a short period of a few months the Nationalist army was able to take province after province, freeing them from military despotism.

Early in 1926 the Nationalist government at Canton announced the military campaign against the Peking government, with General Chiang Kai-shek as its leader. Because of the great distances and the tremendous difficulties of transport people in Central China did not pay much attention to it. The Canton armies took them by surprise and succeeded in reaching the Yangtse with little resistance. Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan, was taken on July 12, and by the middle of Sep-

tember, Hankow, one of the most important trade centers on the Yangtse, fell to the Nationalists. With the exception of the walled city of Wuchang across the river, the Wuhan cities and their environs were all in the hands of the Nationalists by the end of September. Soon Wuchang had to surrender on account of food famine. With the fall of Wuchang, a stronghold from a strategic standpoint, the Nationalists were enabled to move their seat of government from Canton in the following December. One of the things that happened during the occupation of Hankow as the temporary seat of the Central government was "the Hankow incident," which ended in the retrocession of the Hankow and Kiukiang concessions to China on March 15, 1927.

After consolidating its position in the provinces of Central China, two expeditions were under preparation, one northeastward, with Shanghai and Nanking as its objective, and the other northward along the railway line to Peking. Shanghai was taken on March 22, and Nanking was captured two days later. It was in Nanking that the regrettable March incident occurred, before the main force arrived. It is believed by many that the attack on foreign residents of Nanking was deliberately planned by communists and opponents of Chiang Kai-shek with a view to embroiling

him with the foreign powers. The facts will probably never be clearly known.

A few days after the fall of Nanking, General Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Shanghai on board a Chinese gunboat. Having found evidence of the communist intrigue and danger of another incident which might embarrass him before the eyes of the foreign nations, he began to take drastic measures for suppression of the radical elements. He gave orders on April 12 instructing the troops to round up all the truculent armed pickets, a good many of whom he killed. When the news of this ruthless handling of the labor pickets by Chiang reached the Hankow government, it enraged Borodin, the Russian adviser, and others, who ordered the excommunication of Chiang and his followers. For the first time Chiang was officially branded as an anti-revolutionary and traitor.

The split between Chiang and the Hankow government was so wide that there was little else for Chiang and his adherents to do but to set up a new government at Nanking, after having called a party conference, which gave it sanction. With the establishment of a rival government in Nanking the Hankow group soon ceased to exercise any political influence, and by the middle of July the communist and the Left Wing leaders had to flee for life when

one of Chiang's supporters effected a coup against the communists. After this partial success in rounding up the communists had been achieved, the Nationalist party (in Chinese, "Kuomintang") was again ready to continue the campaign against Peking, which had been temporarily suspended during the period of the Kuomintang split. It happened at this time that General Yen Hsi-shan, governor of Shansi, a long-time member of the old Kuomintang, suddenly announced his allegiance to the Nationalist cause and offered his aid in case of an attack on Peking. After proper arrangement with Yen in Shansi and Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian general) in Honan, the advance of the Nationalist army proper was led under the command of General Chiang along the Tientsin-Pukow railway line. It was this advance which led to the unforeseen clash with the Japanese in Tsinan, who sought to delay the capture of Peking for fear of the downfall of Chang Tso-ling, a protégé of the Japanese Imperialists. But it happened that Chang was bombed when he entrained for his own city of Mukden and succumbed on June 21, 1928, to the injuries then received. The result was that Peking was brought into the Nationalist fold without the least resistance. By the end of the year the three eastern provinces of Manchuria, under the new leadership

of the young General Chang Hsu Liang, son of the assassinated Marshal Chang Tso-ling, were also ready to hoist the Nationalist flag. This concluded the last phase of the military expedition against the North, and marks the summit of the success of the Nationalist forces. The new year of 1929 saw China reunited, with promise of a great future, if China's leaders are truly of one mind, hope, and spirit.

The history of the Chinese Republic as sketched in the previous paragraphs reveals that China has been on trial in recent years. Whether China's troubles will be over soon, nobody can tell. Those who think of the sober and industrious qualities of the Chinese people and their heritage of civilization and government, have no fear concerning their future. "Progress," says a well-known writer, "whether in the spiritual or the physical sphere, is not the smooth, continuous movement that some theories of evolution suggest. Seeds of change lie dormant for years, perhaps for centuries, until at last their winter's sleep ends, and a new fruitage bursts suddenly upon the world. Whether it be in the production of new species, or the growth of the individual soul, or the process of human history, we can observe a series of revolutionary events due to causes previously unrecog-

nized." If the principle underlying these words is true with other nations, it certainly is true in China.

Doubtless China has her difficult problems. Economically speaking, the country is in upheaval, hence strife, squabble, scramble, and what not. But this is the very condition which will help to convince thoughtful people of the superficial importance of a mere change of the form of government, and lead them to seek a deeper cure for the ills of the state. Many are coming to see that unless a thoroughgoing social and individual revolution is accomplished, the country will still be full of wounds and bruises. The hopeful aspect of the situation is this: China now sees what her internal and external problems are, and is determined to solve them. Indeed, it is our conviction that whatever the future holds for China, the real revolution will go on, possibly here and there with retrogressions, but it cannot and will not fail.

The soundness of such a statement may be challenged, as it may be asked, "What is it that makes you so optimistic regarding the future of the Chinese Republic when she is confronted with a thousand and one problems from within and menaced by Red and White imperialistic influence from without?" To answer this question it is necessary to fol-

low some of the forces which are operating among the Chinese and which are producing profound results, educationally, socially, economically, and politically.

The adoption of the new educational system in 1905 and the sending of students abroad to quench their thirst for Western knowledge, coupled with the adoption of modern printing and methods of paper-making, have resulted to a great extent in a unification of thought and the creation of an inquisitive mind. Moreover, we are frequently reminded that the Great War of 1914 has unmade and remade the mind of the world. Revolution is in the air. The venerable warden of Magdalen College, Oxford, writes in a leading magazine: "Revolution if not revolt, reform if not reformation, reconstruction, reparation, renaissance, and kindred terms and names for the conflict of the old and the new, of growth and decay, of birth and death, are found everywhere to-day, in the nursery and in the school, and in the university, no less than in the senate, the churches, the council chambers of Versailles or of Geneva." The truth of these words certainly applies to China. The forces which are at work throughout the rest of the world are also operative in China. The ideas of the new world of thought are flooding in on the country from all directions. If

the World War has created a new world of thought, it has certainly made a tremendous impression on the Chinese. President Woodrow Wilson's contribution of "self-determination" and the slogan of "making the world safe for democracy" are on the lips of every student. Students are reading Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Kropotkin, Karl Marx, Lenin, Lincoln, Bergson, and Eucken. Professors Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Harry F. Ward, Tagore, and a host of others were invited to lecture and drew large and attentive audiences among the students. The conservative "Old Guard" look with alarm upon this blowing of the wind, but the time and the tide are on the side of the youth. In the course of time from the Government University of Peking there emanated influences which crystallized into a movement known as the New Thought Movement. The slogan of the movement is "Inquire into everything." Hence everything is being criticized and judged. Any system or institution which cannot pass this process of examination is doomed. Only that which stands the test will remain. In the meantime "Educate" is the cry on all sides. Thus there began the formation of Societies for the Promotion of Advanced Learning, the National Association for the Spread of Popular Education, the organization of scientific and phil-

osophical societies, and the establishment of libraries.

The most constructive and significant success of the movement, however, is the adoption of the spoken language as the medium for ordinary writing. In this way the popularization of ideas is made possible. The hitherto mysterious *cabala* used for letter writing will be effete when everybody can write his own letters without calling the aid of a pundit. Who can predict the effect of this one simple change? In short, educationally speaking, the mental idols are gone or going, and students are holding out their hands for more and greater knowledge, and are anxious to have a seat in the Parliament of Science and Letters, which knows no barrier of nationality or race.

In social life the women who were formerly shut off from the other sex by immemorial custom now demand emancipation and equality of opportunity with the male sex. The new women in China no longer have bound feet, and in large cities most of the young girls have bobbed hair—an external sign of an inward change. Young men and young women are enjoying freedom of association and choice of which their elders never dreamed. Prearranged marriages, with no acquaintance, courtship, and consent between the bride and groom are giving way to love-making and the

exchange of ideas and ideals. Concubinage is being denounced and agitated against by the Women's Movement. The women of China are not only demanding the rights that are their due but also claim a proportionate share in the field of social service and politics. Numbers of women in China are being enlisted in the revolutionary army and the Department of Political Propaganda. In such an age of revolution and transition the patriarchal Chinese family system certainly cannot stand the storm. It must go, if it has not already gone. There is a decided revolt against absolute parental authority and control. There is a birth of youth consciousness which has worked great hardship for the older generation. Whether for good or for ill, the new youth are in search of adventure and are no longer satisfied with the shibboleths of their fathers.

Economically, the introduction of machinery in place of handicraft is causing great change and disturbance in the manufacturing districts. Of course China is still but little industrialized. Whatever modern industry on a large scale there is, is either owned by foreign capitalists or financed with foreign capital. There is a steady influx of population to industrial centers, consisting of men and women who are attracted by the modern

inducements of city life, and who are abandoning their simple, thrifty, and clean village life, to enter the factories and live in the congested districts, bringing in their train all that array of social problems with which the West is too familiar. Meantime the coming of modern industrialism, despite its menace to human life, and relations, has worked to the good of the country, not only in that it has increased the material prosperity of the people, but that it is developing a new spirit, namely, the spirit of union and co-operation. But the government will have to guard against *foreign exploitation.* Either China will grow into an effective and capable industrial nation or will be held subject, at least temporarily, to international control and international exploitation. Whether China will be able to develop herself and take her equal place among the great nations is a baffling, haunting question, a challenge not only to the Chinese, but to the friends of China in the Western world who wish this problem to be settled justly and peacefully.

Speaking of industrial conditions in the International Settlement of Shanghai, Dr. Harold Balme, ex-president of the Shantung Christian University, made this comment: "Many of the foreign-owned mills of Shanghai, which have produced substantial dividends

for their shareholders during the past ten years, are still employing child labor for long hours per day or night, and the very mild measures of reform (these recommendations include the abolition of child labor under ten years of age, the limiting of hours of children under fourteen to twelve, and prohibition of child labor in dangerous places) which have been recommended by a special industrial commission, have so far failed to secure ratification by the apathetic rate payers (foreign residents) of the Shanghai International Settlement." Doctor Balme went on to say that "Such facts as these afford ready ammunition for the communistic propagandist or anti-foreign agitator, as he inveighs against the exploitation of human life by so-called 'callous capitalists.' It is true the same condition of child labor is to be found in Chinese factories, but a criticism of the foreign-owned mills as referred to here, is not unbecoming, for every foreigner in China knows that such conditions as exist in the mills of China are unthinkable in his homeland."

The economic salvation of labor may have to be worked out by the laborers alone or in co-operation with the employers, if such is possible. Chinese labor has already begun to speak for itself. Union after union sprang up during recent years. The power of the labor

unions was demonstrated by the significant nation-wide strike resulting from the May 30 tragedy in Shanghai in 1925. In a nation where the power of human resources is so great, when the voice of labor is made articulate, it will speak with weight and command attention. To-day its power is manifested in the revolutionary movement crying the slogans of "Beat down the Militarists" and "Beat down the foreign imperialists." The power of labor has been aroused whether for good or for evil.

Politically, as well as otherwise, China is undergoing a process of struggle between the old and new, between autocracy and democracy. Strike, boycott, demonstration, and war are but a few phases of this struggle which involves issues not only domestic but also international. Indeed, it is a struggle for emancipation from foreign imperialism as well as from military autocracy. One hears a great deal when abroad of an anti-foreign movement in China. The word "anti-foreign" is a misnomer. If it is anti-foreign at all, it is anti-foreign imperialism rather than anti-foreign individuals. What the Chinese want is nothing more than the right to live and let live. Surely, no self-respecting people could ask for less. The present effort of the Chinese people is to free themselves from the yoke

of the unequal treaties and to recover their lost rights. The unequal treaty which gives foreign nationals the special privilege of extra-territoriality is frequently abused to the harm of the Chinese. By treaty stipulation China has been deprived of the power of making her own tariff, which is, in a way, responsible for the lack of industrial development. To patriotic Chinese the unequal treaty is a growing irritant. Moreover, China's custom duties and salt monopoly are controlled by foreign-managed organizations as trustees for the service of foreign debts. These and other irritants, such as the Twenty-one Demands, the talk of international control, the smuggling of arms and morphia by foreign nationals, and the insulting tone of the foreign press, published in Shanghai and other foreign settlements, have quickened the Chinese people to national consciousness. There is consciousness of injustice and a sense of national shame.

Confucius says: "He that knows shame is near to energy. When a state feels shame, that is enough to revive its prosperity." Thank God, the self-sufficient and self-vaunted China of yesterday is being gradually awakened to national consciousness through the process of humiliation at the hands of foreign powers. One of the most hopeful signs of the day is that the Chinese with their pride of

four thousand years of civilization, have at last found where they stand and how their fellow countrymen are being treated at home and abroad. This feeling of shame has been particularly keen during recent years because of the constant foreign insults offered within China's own doors and the humiliating position in which China has been placed in the eyes of the world. None the less these are good medicine for the "Sick Man" to take. Some day when China becomes united and takes her rightful place in the family of nations, she will, no doubt, realize her debt to foreign imperialism for the spur supplied by its unscrupulousness. The most hopeful sign, however, is to be found in the fact that the Chinese are realizing the importance of cleaning their house from within, in order to meet further encroachments from without. Again, say the Classics, "The individual must have first insulted himself before others dared to insult him. The family must have ruined itself before it can be ruined. The state must have attacked itself before it can be attacked."

Fortunately, there is widespread dissatisfaction with the militarism which has bled China almost to death. After years of patient waiting the people have been aroused to end the system. In the conservative North, the radical South, the moderate Central China,

all rallied to the banner of "Down with Militarism" when the Nationalist Movement began. This movement voices the sentiment of the people, and that is why it has been received with such welcome wherever it has gone. It gains popularity because it stands for three cardinal principles: (1) a true democratic government of the people, for the people, and by the people; (2) the betterment of economic living for the masses; (3) the abolition of unequal treaties and the recognition of China on the same footing with other nations. This movement seeks to conquer not so much by force as by inculcation of nationalistic ideas and the spread of the democratic teaching of Doctor Sun Yat-sen. It is gathering momentum as it seeks to enlist the support of the laborers and the peasants. Although the battle of the Nationalist Movement is thwarted by the reactionary Militarists and communists from within and the scheming of the foreign imperialists from without, a real revolution is taking place. Unlike the revolution of 1911, which represented a superficial change of government, it reaches up and down into the life of the people.

Unfortunately, China's struggle for independence comes at a time when nationalism is no longer up to date but, rather, old-fashioned. If it had come half a century ago, it

would have been warmly acclaimed, but in this twentieth century, when nationalism is being questioned, if not entirely rejected, people are afraid that China may follow the footsteps of the former Germany, or even that of the present Italy and Japan. It is true that history teaches that a nation may pass very easily from nationalism to irredentism, and from irredentism to imperialism, but in the case of Chinese nationalism it is meant only as a means to an end. No one who reads the "Three Principles of the People" can fail to see that Chinese nationalism, according to its propounder, is only a necessary step to the great world brotherhood which is the end. Whether the followers of Doctor Sun will remain true to this ideal or not, time alone can tell. But for the present there is no reason to believe that they will not. The best evidence we can give is that a certain weekly, known as the Awakened Lion, which represents the ideas of extreme nationalism, acquired a very limited circulation—so small, in fact, that it had to go out of existence. The explanation is that the narrow nationalistic pleas of that paper did not appeal to the people.

China is in a state of flux and in the process of nation-making. It is safe to say that China is in the throes of the birth of a much-needed

nationalism which will transform the mind of the people from the idea of the family to the idea of the state. Recent movements in their various aspects are vivid evidence of a mental revolution. Where there is movement, there is life. It is such a new life which China needs to-day, a life that recognizes spiritual values and the possibilities of modern civilization. Above all, what is needed is the abolishment of national conceit and the creation of divine discontent with existing conditions. Meantime we must have faith and hope in the future. Adapting the words of a renowned scholar, we may say, "Quickened to national consciousness by contact with the West in the dawn of a new age, the Chinese nation is engaged in an exploratory expedition." God speed her on her way!

CHAPTER II

THE NEW THOUGHT MOVEMENT

EVERY mind bears the stamp of its environment. Environment, supplemented by the hereditary character, or the formulated doctrine of some great thinker, molds the mind of a nation into a national type. The positive and concrete teachings of Confucius and the neo-Confucianists have had immense influence in the development of the Chinese student mind. Indeed, so general is this influence that scholars of China are proud to call themselves Yu, the Confucianist or the Rationalist. Consequently, scholars in China are most rationalistic in mind, which means that they are open to scientific demonstration, but impervious to dogma.

What is the New Thought Movement? Broadly speaking, it is the product of a new environment. It is a movement which symbolizes an invisible power and atmosphere. One can feel it when he talks with the people on the street or in classroom. One can sense it when he reads an article from a magazine or a newspaper. A friend described the thrilling experience which he had on his return from

the United States: "When I returned from the States in April, 1921, I spent two weeks in Shanghai. Absent from home for nearly a decade, I was quick to observe any changes. Almost at once I found myself overwhelmed by a kind of invisible power and atmosphere. I felt there was life vibrating, a new life which I had not found a few years ago. The people whom I met, conversations I had with them, the attitudes they took, the opinions they expressed, the judgments they gave on various questions of the day, the newspapers I read, the tone of public opinion reflected in their lines, the topics discussed, all indicated the presence of this new life."

"One evening," he continued, "I roamed through the streets and dropped into various bookstores and newspaper stands and gathered together forty-seven different kinds of magazines, including weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and semiannuals. I spent an entire night merely glancing over their contents, finding that there were more up-to-date events discussed in those magazines than in any combination of forty-seven magazines picked up from American newspaper stands. As I have traveled from one place to another since then, speaking to various audiences and teaching in four or five institutions, I have become more and more interested in this new life which

seems to be developing all the time." As Professor John Dewey puts it, "It [the New Thought Movement] is the manifestation of a new consciousness, an intellectual awakening in the young men and women who through their schooling had been aroused to the necessity of a new order of belief, a new method of thinking."

The editor of the Canton Times writes: "Most of our people are slaves to precedent. . . . Daily we witness efficiency sacrificed on the altar of custom and tradition. Precedent binds the race to the past. It curbs all efforts at progress. It impedes the beneficial stimulus of evolution. It compels the people to face the decadent years of antiquity instead of looking forward into the dawn of the future and interpreting the God-given message which gradually unfolds its wonderful promise in the light of the world's to-morrows. . . . But a new emancipation has come to our people. . . . There are those among us who dare to challenge the authority of the past. . . . It is not enough to say, 'China is not ready for modern things.' We must make her ready."

This New Thought Movement is the sign of a new life which had been in embryo ever since China's contact with the West. More recently, the movement owes its impetus to the events which have taken place within the

last two or three decades. That the world struggle for democracy has much affected the thought of the East is not to be doubted, but certainly no movement has made a greater impression on the thought of the intellectuals in China than the Russian revolution and the downfall of militarism in Germany.

Indeed, every important event of the last fifty years has had something to do with the process. One can recall how rapidly the enthusiasm for Western education spread, how students went abroad to study by hundreds and thousands, and how new books without number were translated into Chinese. Translations such as Rousseau's *Social Contract,* Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations,* Herbert Spencer's *Social Principles,* Darwin's *Origin of Species,* Benjamin Kidd's *Social Revolution,* Karl Marx's *Das Kapital,* together with the lectures on educational, social, and economic subjects given by Professor Dewey, Mr. Bertrand Russell, and Dr. H. Dreish, have had a very wide circulation and careful reading.

How much these have influenced the changing Chinese mind, no one can justly estimate. They have all done their work in arousing the mind of the thinking Chinese and in the creating of a new tide of thought. As Professor Ross, in *The Changing Chinese,* writes,

"The renaissance of a quarter of the human family is occurring before our eyes and we have only to sit in the parquet and watch the stage." Another observer, who is a Briton and has had long years of residence in China, writes: "The Chinese people are trembling on the edge of a phenomenal renaissance. You have but to question any missionary to get the most amazing story of the brain storm raging among the educated and the proletariat alike, and of their immense new desire for truth. The net increase in population since 1900, which is estimated at 68,000,000 souls, is stuffing the country full of young men and young women, and this rising generation demands truth, more truth."

The immediate cause of the New Thought Movement, however, was the failure of the 1911 revolution to accomplish governmental reform. After the fighting was over, although the form of government had changed, the spirit of the old order remained. The emperor had gone, the *tuchuns* and war lords had grasped power. As a result of disappointment in their effort to bring about a reformed government through political revolution, the leaders of the country turned their eyes to something more fundamental. One of the leaders wrote: "Since our intimate contact with Western civilization, our first consciousness was the need

of fighting equipment. In the course of time our second consciousness became the need of political reform. But our government has proven to be a failure. Hence our great problem of the day is the problem of culture."

It was natural that the leaders, having failed to accomplish their end through political revolution, should set themselves to inquire into the weakness of Chinese society and seek to discover the real causes. Instead of seeking merely to overthrow the Militarists and corrupt officials, the leaders sought to bring about a condition which would make it difficult, if not impossible, for such leaders to gain power. This led them to a scientific study of the present social order and institutions. The method used was simple and familiar. They asked first, "What is it?" Then, "What is it for?" Finally, "What does it accomplish?" Any system or institution that could not successfully pass this examination was and is doomed.

Doctor Hu Shih, one of the prominent leaders of the New Thought Movement, writes: "(1) In regard to traditional customs we must ask whether or not they have any value to-day. (2) In regard to the traditionally handed-down teachings of our saints, we must inquire whether or not they are adequate for us now. (3) Toward conventional forms of belief and

action we must ask, 'Is it necessary to accept them as right because they are accepted by the majority?'"

This attitude of inquiry and doubt is manifested wherever the movement has taken root. One man writes: "Everything is being questioned, even the holiest sanctions of the old faiths are now sneered at as foolish superstitions. Science is overthrowing geomancy. The idols of the temple and of the mind, shaken and undermined by the New Thought, are tottering to their fall. The cake of custom is being hopelessly smashed. The process once begun cannot be stopped until every doctrine and every institution is thrown into the crucible out of which most will never emerge at all, and only a few will stand the ordeal by fire."

A glance over the publications which have rushed into existence since the starting of the movement will show something of the problems discussed by intellectuals of the nation. The following is a list of some of these publications:

The Renaissance	Freedom
Young China	The New Life
The Young World	Truth
The New China	Women
Reconstruction	The New Women
Emancipation	The New Men

The New Individual
The New Group
The New Society
The New Spirit
The New Voice
The New Culture
The Dawn
The Morning Star
The Morning Bell
The New Light
Science
The New Education
The New Student
The Student Review
The Youth
Philosophia
Wissen and
Wissenshaft
The Struggle
The Leader of the
Common People
The New Learning
Labor and Learning
Self-Consciousness
The New Voice of
Society
The New World
The Progress of
Youth
The New Air
The Pacific Monthly
The Citizen

All these publications were printed in Pei-hua style; that is, in the same form as the spoken language, a method made possible through the so-called literary revolution, which provided a new tool in the vernacular language for the popularization of the ideas and ideals of the New Thought Movement among the masses of the people. Moreover, new ideas demand new words of expression, without which it is difficult to create a new culture. Above all, they expressed the need of a living literature to express the new and changing ideas of the time.

Doctor Hu Shih, father of the Pei-hua movement, contributed an article on the

"Problem of the Chinese Language," in which he contended: "We must free ourselves from the traditional view that the spoken words and the spoken syntax are vulgar. As a matter of fact, many of the words and phrases of our daily use are extremely expressive and therefore beautiful. The criterion for judging words and expressions should be their vitality and adequacy of their expression, not their conformity to orthodox standard. The spoken language is our living language; it represents the daily needs of the people, is intrinsically beautiful, and possesses every possibility of producing a great and living literature, as is shown in our great novels, which are written in the vulgate."

At another place Doctor Hu attacked the old literature, which was written in the form of Wenli, or the literary style, as undemocratic. "Chinese literature as it existed and still exists to-day," he declared, "is the literature of the minority. . . . It is a literature of and for the intelligentsia. Any country that pretends and intends to be a democracy must provide for its citizens a medium of expression which will be easily comprehended by everyone. If China intends to be a democracy, she ought to have a literature that smells less of classicism and responds more adequately to the needs of everyday life."

Mr. Chen Tu Hsiu, a stanch supporter of the Pei-hua movement, emphasizes these reasons for throwing the old classical form overboard:

"1. We must overthrow the old aristocratic literature and establish a literature of the people.

"2. We must overthrow the literature of the classics and establish a literature of realism.

"3. We must overthrow the literature which is secluded from the world and establish a social literature."

"Why do I wish to overthrow these three kinds of literature?" continues Mr. Chen. "Because the old aristocratic literature is too dependent upon the examples of others, and hence we have lost our own spirit of independence and individuality; the literature of classicism pays attention to externals and has lost its realism; literature which is excluded from the world does not benefit the masses. . . . The classical writings have flesh but no bone, form but no spirit; they are simply ornaments and not of any real use."

Without the success of the literary revolution, the governmental revolution would be unavailing. Now the average Chinese can know their obligations to their countrymen and to the world and can know how to meet these obligations.

The attitude of the New Thought Movement, as stated before, is skeptical. In its approach to economic questions and institutions the thinking class finds its suspicions aroused by the burdens which labor bears without being able to earn a living wage. Why is it so? There must be something wrong with the system. The logical step, therefore, its followers declare, is to question the rights and privileges of the capitalists, who enjoy so much and do so little.

In the same way, after living in an atmosphere of oppression, without even the right of choosing a vocation or one's intimates, the youth comes to question the right of parents to dominate the family as in the past. One student, speaking of family relationships, writes: "The relationship between parents and children in the old family is something too autocratic to survive in a republican state. It gives the parents absolute rights over their children, but imposes no duties upon them. It is absurd to think that a father could even send his son to prison without the flimsiest reason." Another, advocating free divorce, writes: "The life of marriage as known of old is no marriage. If it is a marriage, it certainly is a slavery and bargain unworthy of the name 'marriage.' What is marriage? In simple words, it is the meeting of two minds.

Therefore, love should be of primal importance."

Still another, in his advocacy of family revolution, violently attacked the old family system in this wise: "Undesirable personalities spring from undesirable families, undesirable nations are formed by undesirable families. We don't need to blame the evil Militarists and officials; they are made by their evil families. Our Chinese family is the source of all evils. Political revolution is of no use; it is a failure! The fundamental way to attack the evils in society is to begin with the 'family revolution.' Our Chinese family system is a few thousand years old. It has two great evils, the father's power over the family and the size of the family. The harm that results may be classified under four headings: 1. The individual personality is lowered. 2. A spirit of dependence is created. 3. Individual development is suppressed. 4. In a big family the members usually do not get along peacefully. Thus for the sake of individual happiness, the family's peace, and the progress of the race, the Chinese family must be changed into a simple family consisting of a husband and a wife."

Continuing, he said: "The worst element in the spirit of the old family is its aristocracy. I don't mean to say that children should not

be filial to their parents. But I insist that their relationship should be based on natural human love. The relationship between the old and the young, between parents and children, should be entirely mutual. Why should a husband be allowed to marry concubines while a widow may not remarry? Why should a boy be considered a master in the family while a girl is looked upon as a maidservant? This age is an age of democracy, and mediæval ideas, no matter where they are, must be destroyed at once! This aristocratic poison should be washed out by the democratic spirit. The only aim should be to create a happy and peaceful home. All the superstitions at home should be aired in the light of the scientific spirit. Marriage should be based on love. Parents should have nothing to do with it."

In matters of social reform, the cry is "Emancipation and reconstruction." In his article on "Social Duties," which appeared in the Weekly Review for April 17, 1920, Mr. Tsu Yung Yi points out the following as the specific social duties of the moment: (1) To break down all blind faiths and superstitions. (2) To overthrow all class distinctions. (3) To advance universal education. Discussions and investigations concerning social reform and amelioration gradually grow to include the whole range of social problems as they

apply to conditions in China. Women likewise seek emancipation. To obtain it one woman sets forth the following procedure: (1) Abandon all sex distinctions. (2) Establish equal education for both sexes. (3) Organize a women's union. (4) Remove restrictions from social intercourse. (5) Open all industries to women. (6) Economic independence. Other reforms advocated and demanded by women are equal chastity and loyalty for men, abolition of the evil institutions of concubinage, slavery, prostitution. The most wholesome sign of the movement is the awakening of the women themselves. They seek not only emancipation but also promotion of sexual morality. These are, of course, led by the educated, who are carrying their gospel of a free womanhood to their less fortunate sisters.

In matters of religion the scholars are frankly skeptical. They are neither prejudiced for nor against religion; they are critical. In this connection, Christianity is being more searchingly studied. To the thinking class any religion that has an important bearing on society is worth studying. "In my opinion," a prominent writer states, "the rational attitude toward Christianity is to treat it seriously and study it as a subject of great social significance. I hope we shall not

continue to talk about it with closed eyes as in the past."

With the exception of a few who find religion so irreconcilable with science that they denounce it as a retarding force in human progress and an enemy to civilization, the majority of the thinkers are open-minded, believing that religion should be given a chance to prove its worth. A writer of renown declares: "As I am not a member of any church, I am not interested in defending any organization or advocating the excellence of any particular faith. But I have often felt that religion contains within it the highest ethics, and so I think that if we want imperfect mankind to make progress toward perfection, we cannot lightly set religion aside."

There is a movement afoot to substitute æsthetics for religion, because science cannot supply inspiration, consolation, and the sweetening of life which one finds in religion. It is felt by some, especially Dr. Tsai Yuan Pei, former chancellor of the National University of Peking, that æsthetics can offer inspirational and emotional experiences akin to religion. It is pointed out that while the very means through which religion gives comfort and inspiration are made up of the same material which æsthetics can offer, yet æsthetics can supply all these at smaller cost and minus

all its troubles. How this is to be done, and done to the satisfaction of human religious want, remains yet to be seen.

Movements generally spring from the thinking class, and China is no exception. Professors and students figure most prominently in the New Thought Movement. The leading characters are Tsai Yuan-pei, Chen Tu Hsiu, and Hu Shih, all at one time members of the faculty of the Peking Government University. Tsai Yuan-pei was chancellor of the University, a Hanlin scholar, a returned student from Europe, and an author. Chen Tu Hsiu was dean of the University, a Chinese scholar, and returned student from Japan, author of many social and economic books, and editor of La Jeunesse, considered to be the dynamo of the movement. Hu Shih was professor of philosophy at the University, a Chinese scholar, and a returned student from the United States. Hu Shih is considered the father of the Pei-hua Movement, because he first wrote that epochal book, *Outlines of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, in the vernacular language. Indeed, the movement has its stronghold in the universities and academies of Peking, thence spreading throughout the provinces.

The movement has given the nation a new conception of life. It reasserts the value of

life and the unlimited possibility of individual development. It inspires the race with a new hope and courage. It has aroused the people to the need of science and a scientific spirit. It has waged war on superstition and mercilessly attacked the old, unscientific methods of living.

Again, the movement has created within the mind of the people an inquiring attitude toward things old and new. It has broken down the reverence for precedent and established traditions. It has taught the people to think for themselves. It has told the people to recognize no taboos and conventions which cannot justify their existence.

It has helped the nation to see that unless the social and economic conditions of the people are greatly improved, political agitation and political revolutions will not make national life any better. It has quickened in the mind of the people a spirit of thoroughness in their quest for a better world, so that they will not rest until the whole fabric of society is permeated with its influence.

To sum up, the New Thought Movement might be called a "humanistic" movement, for its aim and its chief interest is in the man, his welfare and progress. It is a many-sided movement, touching various aspects of life and placing a new valuation on them. The move-

ment is unorganized but its influence is all-prevalent. It arose from the growing dissatisfaction with things as they are, and is bound to live and grow as long as the causes for its being are not removed. It is virile as it is penetrating. Once it takes root, it becomes a part of the life of the people. It is the beginning of a new life and marks the dawning of a new era.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The Student Movement, like many other movements, is a direct product of the time. It is a patriotic movement as well as a cultural movement. It is a movement which has saved China from being sold to foreign nations by "traitors," and a movement which has aroused public opinion against foreign injustice and internal corruption. Its influence is far-reaching and its contribution toward national consciousness is marvelous. The strength of the movement is to be found in that it is made up of the youth of the nation.

Like the youth of all nations, the students of China are adventurous in spirit and independent in thinking. Being inexperienced, the students do not hesitate to act when the time calls for it. They do not think twice, as most of the older men do. They are liable to make mistakes, but they are sincere and unselfish. With the students it is a matter of "ought" or "ought not," and not a question of "should" or "should not." They may not be practical, but they are patriotic and truth-

seeking. Life with the students is something of an experiment—nothing traditional or preceptive can awe them into blind obedience. They are ready to die, if need be, for their own independence as well as the independence of their nation. When properly directed, the movement can expect to achieve great things for China in her struggle for democracy and enrich her with a new and more abundant life.

The immediate occasion for the outburst of the national rage first engineered by the students was the decision of the Paris Conference which gave Japan the former German rights enjoyed in Shantung. The general world condition after the war of 1914, together with the military grip in China, were very influential. For instance, the victory of the Allied powers, resulting in the defeat of the armed-to-the-teeth Germany, taught the students the need of joint action. They reasoned that if the country could only unite, militarism in China could be crushed and the autocratic government in Peking overthrown. Moreover, the deeply rooted corruption of the Peking government caused the students to distrust that government in any measure of reform and to resolve to take direct action in matters of state if there should be a chance.

This feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust

of the Peking government was so intense that any degree of agitation was sufficient to fan the whole country into flame. The decision of the Paris Conference to let Japan succeed to the German rights in Shantung supplied the incidents which set the whole country in indignation. Soon Peking and Paris were besieged with telegrams protesting against the action. The news soon spread that some members of the Cabinet were involved in the selling out of the country, and three men, namely, Tsao Yu-ling, the minister of communication; Lu Chung-yu, minister of finance; and Chang Tsung-tsiang, minister to Tokyo, all known for their pronouncedly pro-Japan activities, were denounced as "traitors" for having made secret agreements or understandings with the Japanese government.

Telegrams by the hundreds and thousands began to pour in to the Peking government urging the dismissal of the three "traitors." Failing to secure their removal from office by telegrams and petitions, the students began to realize the futility of dealing with the government. A student strike was declared which continued until the "traitors" actually resigned. On the morning of May 4, 1919, students from thirty-three schools and colleges in Peking, fifteen thousand strong, paraded the streets as a demonstration against the Shan-

tung decision. Three of them went to the Legation quarter to ask the Allied ministers to use their good offices to secure justice for China. They were prevented by the police from entering the Legation grounds. After standing at the entrance for two hours, the crowd went to the residence of Tsao Yu-ling. They demanded that he appear in person and explain to them why he made the secret "agreements" with Japan by virtue of which he sold Shantung. The gates of Tsao's palatial mansion were closed and guarded by the police. But the maddened crowd forced the gates open and rushed in, smashing to pieces everything in the lavishly furnished rooms. Some of the buildings were set on fire. It happened that Lu Chung-yu and Chang Tsung-tsiang, the two other "traitors," were at Tsao's house. Both Tsao and Lu escaped, but Chang was unfortunately caught and beaten to unconsciousness by the crowd. Then police re-enforcements appeared on the scene and the crowd was dispersed at the point of the bayonet. Thirty-two students were arrested and brought to the Metropolitan Police Station.

The Cabinet members met at the private residence of Premier Chien in the evening, but no decision was arrived at except to stand firm. Next morning the students refused to

attend classes as a protest against the arrest of their fellow students. They declared that they would not return to work until the thirty-three students were released. On May 7 the students were released and welcomed back to their respective institutions as heroes amid acclamations and tears. The next day a presidential mandate was issued instructing the authorities to prosecute the students who were the ringleaders. This resulted in hundreds of protests being sent to Peking by educational bodies from various parts of the country.

The students then petitioned the president, asking for the dismissal of the "traitors," and that the treaty of peace with Germany be not signed, a request to which the president paid no attention. Thereupon, the students began to make appeals to the people by lecturing in the streets of Peking. The interference of the police caused some conflicts, but nothing serious happened. On May 20 the Students' Union in Peking declared a general strike. The students came out in large numbers, delivering lectures in the streets. The police were helpless. The government had to call out regular troops to break up the crowds that were listening to the street lectures.

By this time the whole country had been sympathetically stirred and in city after city

the students likewise struck. A month later students found parading the streets in Peking were arrested, and over a thousand were kept in detention without proper nourishment for several days. The next day more were arrested, and on the third day their comrades in all the schools, numbering thirty thousand, offered to be similarly imprisoned if those arrested for no crime but that of lecturing at street corners were not liberated. The government wavered and set the students free.

Meanwhile the students had appealed to the merchants to support their cause. The latter responded in a general strike which almost paralyzed the country. Now all classes united in demanding the dismissal of the "traitors." On June 10 the resignations of the "traitors" were accepted by the president. Thus the people, by their united effort, won a victory over the government. This ended the first phase of the Student Movement.

The May-fourth episode in Peking brought the people to realize the need of concerted action. Had it not been for the united strike of the students, merchants, and workingmen throughout the country in support of the students, they could not have succeeded in forcing the removal from office of the three "traitors." Hence student unions sprang up like mushrooms. The school was the unit in

the formation of the local unions. Each school was to choose certain delegates, the number to be determined by the size of the student body, to form the local student union. Within each of the constituent schools there was to be organized a student society with an executive committee to direct and carry out the campaign on behalf of the union. After the organization of the local student unions was completed, a national conference was called in Shanghai, to which all the local unions were asked to send delegates. The main purpose of the conference was to consider how the student unions could be better enabled to act quickly and efficiently, looking forward, of course, to the formation of a National Student Federation, which actually came into being on the sixteenth of June. The conference was well attended, many pending questions were settled, and the nation-wide strike was called off.

Jointly and irresistibly the students were making their voice heard, and the government could no longer play fast-and-loose with the people. Having thus gained recognition by the government and loyal support from the public, the students directed their efforts toward launching a campaign against the use of Japanese goods. The campaign proved very successful, to the surprise of those

against whom it was leveled. One newspaper was reported to have said: "We must confess at this writing that there seems to be something different in the movement which has grown out of popular resentment and despair since the receipt of the verdict from Paris. It appears to be more intelligent, less emotional, better organized, less furious, and to have a clearer understanding of causes and a more thorough knowledge of the events which have led up to the calamity." This new weapon of boycotting foreign goods is as potent as ever and can be directed at any foreign power which seems to do China wrong and injustice. Note the statement made by President Wilson: "A nation boycotted is a nation defeated."

In order to show the strong attitude of the students toward what they consider to be a national danger, we reproduce a warning dispatched by the National Student Federation to the Peking government, protesting against the rumored direct negotiation with Japan regarding the question of Shantung after the Versailles treaty had become effective:

"Diplomatic failures have stirred the people. Your treacherous actions have caused the people to gnash their teeth. That the people are against direct negotiation with

Japan in regard to the Shantung question, that China cannot give in on the Foochow incident, and that the Sino-Japanese Military Pact must be repudiated, have been sufficiently expressed to need no further comment. Since the fourth year of the Republic (1915) harmful treaties have been secretly made with Japan—such as the Twenty-one Demands, the Exchange of Notes respecting the Kiao-chow-Tsinan Railway, the Agreements of the Tsi-Shun, Kao-Hsu, Manchuria and Mongolian lines, and other contracts arising out of loans which impair China's sovereignty, military and police functions, finance and communications, etc. But you have undoubtedly heard more than once the repeated declarations of the people that they can in no wise recognize the treaties as valid.

"Since May 4, 1919, we have forsaken our sacred studies and exhausted ourselves in the service of the country. In other words, we are doing our bit for the safety of our motherland and eventually for self-protection. China is now facing great dangers. The present is the critical time for our unfortunate nation. Our conscience does not allow us to be silent any longer. Let this be our last warning to you. In order that the sovereignty and territory of the Republic may be maintained, you are required within a period of four days, to

rebut entirely Japan's notification and then announce the abolition of the military Pact. To dawdle means that you are willing to be traitors. We, the students, cannot bear to see our glorious Republic demolished through your hands. Though lacking in strength, yet we are able to meet you empty-handed. Do not think that the people and the students can be deceived. Do not think that foreign help and arbitrary measures are dependable. The classics say: 'O sun, when wilt thou expire? We will die together with thee!' We hope you will take this dilemma into careful consideration."

The following statement concerning the general strike was also issued in English by the Shanghai students, for information of the foreign residents in Shanghai:

"On Wednesday morning [April 14, 1920] the students of this city [Shanghai] will join with their brothers and sisters throughout China in a general strike against the Peking government. This is not a strike against individuals of the government, for we have no quarrel with individuals. We are leaving our studies in protest against Japanese activities in our country and elsewhere on the Asiatic mainland, which give every indication that Japan proposes to Koreanize our motherland.

"You will remember the Twenty-one De-

mands. You will remember how Japan took advantage of the fact that your countries were engaged in war or were not free to give careful attention to Far Eastern questions, how at that time Japan made a major effort to destroy China's integrity. You all know how since then Japan has been keeping both the North and South in China divided, how she has fomented and subsidized strife within our land, how she has debauched our officialdom, impeded our commercial development, mortgaged our national resources, filled our land with morphia and opium, and used every dishonorable means to weaken our young Republic and stifle its growth. These acts culminated in two facts: in the Sino-Japanese Military Pact of May, 1918, and in the Shantung decision at the Paris Conference.

"The provisions of the Military Pact are even now unknown to us. We only know that it is one of a long series of secret agreements and treaties which have been made between the officials of Peking and the government of Japan. We only know that through these treaties China has lost her sovereign rights over her army and navy, her arsenal and naval bases, her police and her means of communication. In return for sacrificing such basic rights of sovereignty to Japan, the Peking officials have received Jap-

anese money. But we, the rising generation of China, we shall carry the burden of winning back these rights all through our lives. So when we strike to-day, it is the beginning of an effort to win back in fair fight what the traitors of our land have sold for a mess of pottage.

"With regard to Shantung, you are as well aware of the fate of our sacrificed province at the Peace Conference as we are. Perhaps Shantung does not mean to you what it does to us. Perhaps you do not feel that one province can be a loss to a weak country. But we Chinese feel that a dagger has been thrust into the heart of our country, and that unless the dagger is torn out and the wound healed, our country must die. We are taking whatever means we can to tear this dagger out, and we call upon you as liberty-loving human beings to help us.

"The strike which we will call on Wednesday morning concerns only China. It is our effort to initiate a nation-wide demand for good government and true patriotism. We know that you fear our strike, for you have been told that we are young, inexperienced, dangerous boys and girls who are only disturbing you in your efforts to trade with our countrymen. We know that last year when we successfully prevented the Peking govern-

ment from signing the German Peace Treaty by our strike, you suffered inconveniences and that your settlement was disturbed and that you were forced to call out volunteers to maintain peace. There is no need for us to say that perhaps you were in error last year. That matter is settled. This year we have more experience and we realize that if we are to succeed in our struggle with the Peking officials, our battle must be with and among the people of China and not among foreigners.

"We, therefore, from the outset give you every assurance that the students will take every precaution to prevent disturbances in the International Settlement and to prevent inconveniences to foreigners. There will be no demonstrations in the Settlement. There will be no parade in the Settlement. There will be no students marching with banners and signs in the Settlement. But we hope that the merchants, shopkeepers, and laborers will join us in our movement. So we ask your indulgence for whatever annoyance this may cause you. On the other hand, we shall brand as disloyal any Chinese who uses this occasion to interfere with the food supply, water supply, and also with the light of the foreign inhabitants. We crave your sympathy, not your antagonism. We are creating an agency which will watch with the

greatest attention any manifestations in our movement which may cause offense to the foreigners friendly to China. And we shall stamp out any effort that our opponents may make to discredit our movement by annoying you.

"Friends of the Foreign Nations! You who have your Magna Charta, your Declaration of Independence, you who fought and bled for liberty, you who have just sacrificed your sons in the cause of democracy, can you see China bleed and not wish to heal its wounds? Can you see our nation destroyed by autocracy, by corruption, by debauchery, and not wish to help us? We ask your sympathy. We ask you not to prejudge us. We are fighting your battle as much as our own, for what you have done on the Atlantic we must do on the Pacific, although our strength is not a match with the strength that you brought against autocracy and corruption."

This same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice is manifested by the students also in the field of social service. It is the students who defend the rights of the laborers and challenge both capitalists and imperialists who dare to exploit them. It was they who died while demonstrating in behalf of the workingman Koo Tsung Hun, murdered in a Japanese cotton mill. In order to show sympathy

for the murdered workingman and to call this wanton cruelty to the attention of their countrymen in the British Settlement of Shanghai, the students of various schools, colleges, and universities in Shanghai gave lectures on Nanking Road on May 30, 1925, which resulted in the killing of many in cold blood, while scores of students were wounded and arrested by the British police in front of the Louza Station, located opposite the Town Hall, in almost the center of Shanghai's business districts.

How did the May 30 tragedy come about? The following is a story told by a member of the Shanghai Students' Union who participated in the demonstration on Nanking Road:

"Our hearts ached for the murder in cold blood of Koo Tsung Hun by the Japanese imperialists during the recent mill strike. While realizing the difficulty of the Chinese newspapers in publishing the facts under the oppression of a strong hand, we were determined to get publicity. We knew we could get it if we spoke in the street and got arrested by the police. We were looking for trouble when we decided to make stump speeches in the foreign settlement. Nanking Road, being the center of imperialistic oppression, we had the strongest delegations there this afternoon when groups of speakers scat-

tered all over the Settlement to stir up the people. . . .

"I made a speech on the Japanese oppression for twenty minutes, and several policemen threatened to arrest me. Just as I was finishing my remarks, I was informed by one of my hearers that speakers were being arrested on Nanking Road.

"I immediately proceeded to the scene. Seeing that some of my colleagues were taken into custody, I borrowed a staff from one of the shops and began my eloquence. No sooner had I mounted the improvised platform than I was collared by a Sikh constable. Upon entering Louza Station, I saw the cells on both sides of the building were crowded with students, many of whom I knew. I was pushed into the charge room, but this was also crowded. I had to satisfy myself with a space on the window sill while waiting for my chance to be examined by the sergeant in charge.

"A detective stepped up and carried out a lengthy argument with me over the pros and cons of the killing of the laborer by the Japanese. When he withdrew I was left alone, as the rest had been sent to jail. I waited and looked into the prison cells. The inmates were all in good spirits. Some clapped their hands while others sang patriotic songs.

"They all cheered like one man when they saw two girls walk out of the compound after being questioned by the sergeant. With a few other students I was driven out by the police into Nanking Road. There I noticed that my colleagues had blocked the traffic. It was a glorious sight. Even the trams and motor buses were held up by the students, who were armed with nothing more than three kinds of pennants. On these were inscribed the words, 'Down with Imperialism!' 'We are the Students' Brigade!' and 'Our Fellow-Students Are Arrested!'

"The police first pushed us back. Sticks were used. We refused to move and we laughed as we were struck. In fact, all of us offered to be struck. We made a rush for the door of the station and shouted, 'Let's all go to jail with the other innocent boys!' The police again accosted us. We were pushed back farther. Meanwhile a dozen Sikh police with fixed bayonets had lined up in front of the gate of the station. Ahead of them was a European policeman with a pistol in his hand.

"When we made our second charge, the European policeman signaled to the head Sikh constable, who fired into the air. Half a minute later, when we saw that the firing was not directed at us, we shouted: 'Hit them! Hit

them!' and bang came the volley of rifle fire from the entire squad. My schoolmate of the Tung Chi Medical School, Yin Ching-yi, who was standing beside me, fell in a pool of blood. The crowd surged back, and before I knew it I was stepped on by a number of students and on-lookers.

"I picked myself up with considerable difficulty and went back to headquarters to report my experience. On my way between the station and Tibet Road I saw nine wounded, moaning for relief. At least two of them were not students. One was a coolie, while the other was a child scarcely ten years of age.

"The trouble won't end here. We students are determined to resist foreign imperialism to the last man."

Here was a situation which would tax the best guardian of peace in the world. On the one hand, the police must protect law and maintain order, while, on the other hand, they were confronted with challenges such as this: "Our country is being menaced. What we are doing is purely out of a patriotic motive. Our sole aim is to seek to rouse the nation to protect itself. What do you want to arrest us for? For loving the country? What a shame! Are you not a citizen of the Chinese Republic? Well, if you want to lock us up, come and

take us. We are prepared. It's rather a glory to be arrested this way than to keep silent in the face of a national danger."

It is indeed a very unpleasant and an unenviable task to be a policeman either in Shanghai or Peking. As in Peking so in Shanghai, students were reported to have had bedding strapped to their backs ready for incarceration. When one student had been arrested, ten more volunteered to take his place or asked to be arrested also. They argued, if he is guilty, so are we. Why lock him up alone? If you don't release him, let us come in.

What happened in the International Settlement of Shanghai on May 30, 1925, was more than an incident. "It was a wave-crest of an immense social and political ground swell which has gathered strength for three quarters of a century and will continue to gather strength." May 30 has since become a day celebrated annually, in commemoration of the national disgrace. The incident is significant in that it quickened the development of national consciousness. It was an incident which raised afresh problems as to the type of industrialism China is to have. In short, national sovereignty and personal liberty and justice are the ideals involved. The same ideals which freed the Balkan States are today the hope of the Chinese students.

Both the Peking affair of May 4, 1919, and the Shanghai incident of May 30, 1925, reveal the foreign and Chinese notion of handling student demonstrations and other patriotic activities by force. It is true that students who leave their classes need restraining influence in their fervor, but when they act out of pure patriotic feeling and without resort to arms, there are other and more effective methods than the use of bayonets or revolvers. After all, what was it that drove students from their books and sent them on to the streets, oftentimes suffering cold or heat, to stir the laborers and merchants to strike and to forfeit their daily rice? It is easy to brand the student activities offhand as "Bolsheviki" or denounce them with that handy word "red." But that does not help or explain the situation. It merely dodges the real issue. It helps to irritate and alienate the large portion of students who have no idea of allowing themselves to be so hoodwinked and sidetracked.

The students, indeed, have done some things poorly and other things well. They have gone on strike and persuaded laborers and merchants to join them. They have held street lectures and distributed tons of patriotic and inflammatory literature. They have passionately talked to numerous gatherings concerning China's grievances, real or imaginary,

without thinking of the possible mob spirit that might be the consequence. At times and places they have even defied their teachers and dictated administrative policies to them. They have seized Japanese goods and burned them. They have raided the shops that sold them. They have rioted in the homes of corrupt officials and smashed the furniture of the "traitor" minister. Surely these are acts of violence and insolence. But students are patriotic. They are the "dare-to-dies" of China and are not afraid to live with a purpose. They have produced results. They have had a real share in all China's revolutions. They have aroused public opinion and enlightened the public with objective lessons. They have held the foreign imperialists at bay by boycott, checked the selling out of China's birthright by high officials, and prevented the signing by China delegates of the Versailles Treaty. Indeed, as Sir John Jordan says, "The Student Movement, much as it has been criticized, is a factor which no government can afford to ignore." Might it not also be added that the Student Movement in China has become one of the most feared and at the same time one of the most hopeful signs in China's new life?

This correspondence appeared in the North China Daily News, a British conservative or-

gan in Shanghai, seemingly opposed to China's national aspirations:

"At the last moment of the student strike of those days, youth in China saw a possibility of service perhaps at no other time opened to it. The young men and women were stirred by the hope that their generation might undo the errors of the Republic, that their generation would establish an honorable government, win international equality and respect. Young men and women would not study abroad because they could not leave the country during the stirring period of reconstruction. They would remain in China to work out its salvation. Here they watched with the keenest interest the careers of Persia, of Turkey, of Russia, of those states which were struggling with revolution and transition and which were finding a solution.

"No question of Bolshevism was even mooted then except by those too ignorant to understand the full meaning of the 1919 movement. It was Chinese, so Chinese that even returned students played no part in it. It was the youth of the country, the natively educated youth, finding hope for the future in a single political success. They had gone through an ordeal and were ready to meet all the difficulties which beset their land. They were imbued with the spirit of the Renais-

sance. They would not unmake China, but remake her. They would not destroy the old, but adapt the old to a rejuvenated nation. They would not ape the ways of the West but, rather, utilize the fruits of Western culture for the benefit of a revived Middle Kingdom.

"Then came the days of disillusionment. Peking was as ever corrupt and contented. The provincial *tuchuns* continued to war on one another. The generation of young officials seemed to achieve nothing. Cabinet after Cabinet rose and fell in which the young hopes of China had their day, but not a free day, not a day unhampered by military interference. The Washington Conference came and went. Nothing much was achieved except promises which proved futile and which, perhaps, if accomplished, might have done more mischief than good. Youth became disillusioned and resentful. It found solace in fanciful theories from the West. Free love among the students seemed to coincide with a desire to be unfettered. A morbid search for individuality followed this tremendous enthusiasm for social action. Men like Bertrand Russell and John Dewey came to China with new doctrines, pleasing to the ear and plausible to youth disgusted with the ways of the world. The Russians filled the land with their

literature and their economic and social panaceas. During the days of enthusiasm Christianity seemed to be a hope in the darkness, and thousands of students turned toward it with joy. But in the ensuing days of bitterness it seemed to be a religion of hypocrisy and falsehood, a religion which had no effect upon the realities of life.

"It is only in youth that one can reach such heights of spiritual exaltation and such depths of bitterness and misery. Shame played its part. The foreigners criticized China, and each youthful Chinese read the criticism as a reflection on his mother. The outcry against Lincheng only brought from the Chinese a desire to cover the body of the drunken father whose nakedness they wished not to see.

"It is an easy matter for foreigners to say, 'Why don't they do something?' They have been doing things, doing many of them wrongheadedly, as youth will. But whenever the young men of China have risen within recent years, their political activity has unfortunately been diverted against the foreigner, and the foreigner has grown unsympathetic, because he has suffered and because he has misunderstood. It is not that the youth of China is antiforeign but that they seek a free China and they know not where to find freedom. To

rise against the government at a time when China is involved in serious international difficulties seems to them almost like treason. . . . Perhaps no thrust at the youth of China has been more resented by them than the accusation that they are Bolshevik agents. They admit that among them are young men and women who are members of communist organizations. But they insist that their ideals are pro-Chinese, that their affiliations are clean and their yearnings are patriotic. Even the May 30 affair must be read in the light of this view, for to Chinese students the foreign emphasis upon Russian provocation means nothing more than a refusal to understand their changing temper."

On the other hand, students have also been active in various phases of constructive, promotional, and democratic movements. Their largest contribution has been in the carrying of the fruits of the New Thought Movement to the great masses of the Chinese people. Formerly students considered themselves as born rulers and privileged. To-day the students have gladly put themselves as in common with the coolies and seem to have embraced the principle of "He that wishes to lead must serve."

Their social service has come largely through channels of education. It has almost become

a duty on the part of students to help spread popular education. They help to teach the less fortunate out of school hours or at week-ends. Most of the colleges and high schools maintain schools of illiterates, some for evenings only, others for afternoons, still others for full days. During vacations, summer or winter, students return to their home towns and villages, open free schools to teach children or the illiterate adults, or volunteer their services in campaigns against flies, mosquitoes, etc. Besides teaching, students find themselves useful in lecturing to the common masses. The subjects of lectures are mostly education, citizenship, and hygiene, generally ending with appeals to national patriotism.

Notwithstanding the disapproval of their parents, students have generally allied themselves in promoting the labor, peasant, and other popular movements. Sometimes they acted as secretaries; at other times they served as advisers. A definite set of resolutions was adopted at the seventh annual conference of the National Students' Federation held in June, 1925, in Shanghai for the purpose of (1) Espousing the laborers' cause in their fight against capitalism and assisting them to secure adequate protection from the government. (2) Rendering necessary assistance to the starting of labor organizations and car-

rying on propaganda work. (3) Founding night schools and publishing mass-education literature to help the workmen to acquire adequate knowledge in political matters. (4) Giving proper backing to idle workmen during strikes.

It will be remembered that the Student Movement of 1919 began as a purely patriotic movement. But the years from 1919 onward demonstrated the usefulness and power of the young students, so that political parties began to enlist their support. Hence, in the year 1924, the Kuomintang officially adopted the policy of recruiting members from the student ranks. From that time on student activities have been more or less directed by political agents. There is now to be found in most of the middle schools, colleges, and universities what amounts almost to a party organization.

With the admission of the communists into the Nationalist party and the opening of the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, where a number of Chinese students have been sent and returned, not a few of the students have become intoxicated with communistic ideas. There is a secret organization, known as the Communist Youth Party, which seeks to extend its influence through educational institutions and industrial circles. The membership

is not large, and their efforts are secret, on account of police interference. At present the Communist Organization is under the ban of national government, but its latent force must be reckoned with. How far and wide the communist influence among students will spread time alone can tell.

With the military period of the nationalist revolution now over, the emphasis on reconstruction and discipline is beginning to create among students a new tendency toward constructive and social service. Revolution is always destructive and expensive for the people, hence, with the concluding of the military stage, the students of the country must fit themselves for leadership in the affairs of the nation. The past experience of the students in their effort for national independence has taught them to appreciate more their need of sound judgment and moral courage, both of which can be obtained only through a pursuit of study and a revolution of the spirit. In the past they have paid too much attention to politics, which should have been shouldered by more mature men than they, but now they are beginning to concern themselves more and more in acquiring learning and knowledge. They are also beginning to see the importance of living an exemplary life and identifying themselves more with the less fortunate peo-

ple. Hence there has developed of late a new movement for "Returning to Study" and "Getting Into the Rank and File of the People." It is of utmost importance that this new tendency be fostered and well directed, at the same time conserving the naïve patriotic and life-giving spirit that is in the youth of the students. How this can best be done is a most vital problem confronting the educational leaders of China to-day.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTI-RELIGION MOVEMENT

The significance of the Anti-Religion Movement cannot be denied, for surely the non-Christian Chinese would not embark on any movement unless they felt they had a justifying cause. The movement is significant in that it shows the attitude of the people, particularly the intellectual class, toward all religions, especially the Christian religion. Moreover, it reveals the fact that the Chinese people are no longer indifferent to Christianity and other religions but, rather, are concerned with the rapid progress of the Christian movement and the revival of other religions.

The movement began in the spring of 1922 as a reaction to the convention of the World Student Christian Federation, held in Peking. When the non-Christian students and professors of the Government University in Peking heard the high-sounding name, "World Student Christian Federation," and of its much advertised program of social reform and reconstruction, they became alarmed at the prominence given to this gathering, and felt they would be ignored if they did not make an

organized protest. This feeling of slight and provocation gradually grew into jealousy and opposition, resulting in an outburst which culminated in the issuing of a declaration against the Christian religion and the missionary movement. They argued that while the Christian students had the right to combine forces and form a federation, for the purpose of propagation, it was also the right of the non-Christian students to federate against foreign cultural encroachment. This gave rise to the so-called "World Non-Christian Students' Federation," but failing to find sufficient reasons for existence, it was reorganized as "The Great Federation of the Non-religionists," with the purpose of carrying on an Anti-Religion Movement.

The plan was to attack all religions as unnecessary and superstitious and to promote the truth of science. Later the attack was largely directed against the Christian religion, chiefly because of its connection with the foreign powers. Many adherents were found among the students, and for a time the movement enlisted large numbers of the thinking class in China. Latterly, with the advent of the Nationalist Movement, there has been a new wave of vigorous opposition against foreign imperialism, of which the Christian movement in China has been charged as being the

chief vanguard. It is argued that "there have been various missionaries who have been indirectly instrumental in bringing about the humiliations which a militarily weak China has suffered at the hands of aggressive Occidental nations." Such arguments are borne out by evidence of Germany's seizure of Kiaochow in pre-war days as the result of the death of two German Catholic missionaries. That the revival of such charges should arouse a new tide of opposition to the Christian movement in China should occasion no surprise. There have been outbreaks here and there, in some cases attended with considerable material damage. At many places posters were exhibited and handbills widely distributed denouncing Christianity in most rabid terms. In not a few instances Christian Chinese have been forced to recant.

The points of attack may be summarized in general and in particular.

In general:

1. Religion is hostile to progress. It is biased, dogmatic, and intolerant toward those who dare to disagree. Directly, it hampers the development of individual thought and expression; indirectly, it hinders human progress.

2. Religion is unnatural and the mother of superstition. It was created for the consump-

tion of primitive people and has outlived its usefulness. Moreover, religion sets up its belief in supernatural beings; hence it develops superstition.

3. Religion is divisive in influence. Religious bias and exclusiveness foster jealousy and hatred. It does not make for unity and harmony within the human race.

4. Religion is other-worldly and ignores the material welfare of human beings. It teaches sacrifice of the known for the unknown and undervalues the importance of physical existence.

In particular:

1. Christianity is contrary to reason and logic. Its doctrines of creation, virgin birth, and resurrection are beyond reason and contrary to facts.

2. Christianity is passive and counter-revolutionary. It believes in individual redemption from sin but says little about social salvation. It exhorts contentment, hence it is hostile to change and revolution.

3. Christianity is hypocritical. It preaches fraternity, equality, and sacrifice but does not practice them in life.

4. Christianity is the vanguard of imperialism and in alliance with the capitalistic class. It has been imposed upon China by treaty and gunboats.

The underlying causes and influences that have led to the inevitable outbreak of the movement must not be left unmentioned if we are intelligently to understand the background of the movement in which the intellectuals of the country so notably figured. First of these to be considered is the New Thought Movement, which has changed the attitude of scholars from blind following to an attitude of skeptical inquiry. They would evaluate everything on its own merit. Naturally, religion must also be judged by this process.

The influence of atheism is another. Many of the students educated abroad have returned as freethinkers. These returned students from American and European universities have no use for religion. They take pride in ridiculing and exploding the faith of the ages in Voltarian fashion. The Young China Association, made up of these students, furnishes a good illustration. Its membership is limited to those who hold no religious beliefs.

Then, too, the Nationalist Movement, which has as its avowed purpose the emancipation of China from military oppression and foreign exploitation, is a very potent factor. Inasmuch as Christianity in China enjoys the protection of the so-called unequal treaties, it cannot but be looked upon with suspicion

as if actually in alliance with foreign imperialism. This national consciousness would inevitably tend to identify the Christian movement in China with the policy of cultural exploitation of the West.

Lastly, but deadly, is the communistic influence which is avowedly opposed to all religions. For the communists, religion is nothing but the symbol of a shackle to freedom of thought and a tool of the capitalists. Against Christianity they feel a particular antipathy, because Christianity in China is carried on under the direction of foreign missionaries who are representatives from the imperialistic nations. If these worthies should ever assume the rule of the country, they would wage a holy war on all religion and exterminate every vestige of it.

With these influences at work, and keeping in mind that China is in the throes of a rebirth, one can readily see that it does not take much fanning to bring a smoldering fire to conflagration. An example of this, as we pointed out before, was the convention of the World Student Christian Federation, which met in Peking. Soon after the formation of the "World Non-Christian Federation" in Peking, a similar movement was started by a group of students in Shanghai, who published a pamphlet with the title "Why We Op-

pose the World Student Christian Federation." The fire quickly spread. Organization after organization was formed by students in different centers of the country and declarations were sent out discussing the movement. It looked for a time as if the intellectuals of the country were all in sympathy with the movement, thus menacing the progress or even the existence of the Christian religion. In the meantime, however, five leading professors in Peking issued a statement regarding the matter of religion somewhat as follows:

"We are not members of any church, nor do we support any particular religion, nor do we desire to show any sympathy toward movements against any religion. We are, however, strongly of the opinion that men should have perfect religious freedom without interference from anyone. Moreover, religious freedom is distinctively guaranteed by the constitution, and educated people should take the lead in acting on this principle. In any case, they should not take the initiative in destroying it."

Another scholar, Mr. Liang Chi-Chao, who was perhaps the greatest living Confucianist, commented on the Anti-Religion Movement, saying that it was a good phenomenon, as it showed that thinkers were beginning to pay attention to the important question of religion, but he requested the members of that

movement not to make wanton attacks on religions that were doing good. As to Christianity, Mr. Liang said: "I hope that the Anti-Religion Movement really leads the Christians to reflect. I am thankful for the great educational services the Christians have done and are doing in China. Christians ought to respect the faiths of others who differ from them and not use faith in Christianity as a criterion to judge others' moral conduct. If they plan to help educate a portion of mankind, I am only too glad to acknowledge that theirs is a sacred religious movement. If they simply desire to train some sectarians for the church, then they have already degraded the word 'religion.'" This remark, coming as it did from the lips of Mr. Liang, fairly represents the unexpressed sentiment of the reasonable section of the non-Christian community, if not also the views of many Christians within the church itself.

The movement as a whole seems to center its campaign against the Christian educational program. This is how that came about: At the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Education, held in 1924 at Nanking, the question of national education came up for consideration. The delegates from the three Eastern Provinces raised the problem of Japanese schools in

Manchuria, which are a denationalizing influence. It was reported from the floor that the Japanese schools in Harbin refused to teach any Chinese subjects in their curriculum, but required Chinese students to bow to the picture of the late emperor of Japan. Since the matter of national education was up for discussion, the whole question of foreign-controlled schools in China was reviewed and discussed with much heat. In consequence, the following resolution was passed, urging the registration of foreign-controlled schools in China, with a view to preventing cultural exploitation, educational disintegration, and religious propaganda under the cover of education:

"*Resolved:* That the government be petitioned to issue strict rules for the registration of private schools, so that it can enforce a proper standard for all schools in the country and assume full responsibility for the national control of education.

"That the government be also petitioned to order the closing of schools where facts are discovered and made known showing that they are being used as tools of foreign exploitation.

"That those schools not yet officially registered be deprived of the rights and privileges attached to the officially registered schools.

"That students in those schools not yet officially registered be deprived of the rights and privileges attached to those in the officially registered schools."

This question of foreign-controlled schools in China was agitated and debated in educational conventions and magazines for some time. The main claims are:

1. Education is the most important function of the civil administration of a nation. Foreigners have come to China and freely established schools without having them registered or examined by the Chinese authorities. This amounts to interference with the educational rights of the nation.

2. Each nation has its own policy for the education of its people. The racial characteristics and national ideals of foreigners are different from those of our country. For them to control our education causes many difficulties. It is contrary to our own educational principles.

3. The educational work done by foreigners in China looks like charity, but it is really in effect a form of "colonization." Students who have received their education from Japanese, British, Americans, French, or Germans will learn to love those nations and so will lose the spirit of national independence.

This will injure the patriotic ideals of Chinese students.

4. If we investigate the content of their work, we shall find that most of the foreigners who are doing educational work in China usually have as their purpose either religious propaganda or political aggression. Education is simply a supplementary matter to them. They organize the school systems and the curricula in their own way, without any attempt to meet the standards that have been established by the nation.

It might be recognized, however, that the agitation against foreign-controlled education not only works against Christian education but also for partisan education, for the task of education, as argued by agitators, is to develop national consciousness and to meet national needs through a development of national characteristics. For example, Tsai Yuan-pei, ex-chancellor of Peking University, wrote that "education is to help the educated, to give ability to develop, to build up his own personality and to assume responsibility for his share in the world's civilization. It is not to make out of the educated a tool to be used by those who may have ulterior objectives other than the educational. Thus the educational work should be left entirely to educationalists. It should conserve its independent

qualities, it should be absolutely free from political and religious influences." From this statement one can realize the motive of those who wish to see a unified system of education which calls for registration with the Ministry of Education not only of Christian schools, but of all private schools as well.

This agitation against foreign-controlled education and Christianity was aggravated by the May 30 incident, when students and laborers were killed by the British police. It was during those days of tense feeling that it was decided to set aside the Christmas period as anti-Christian week. The call for its observance was sent through the length and breadth of the land, and met with ready response everywhere. The anti-Christian week observed in 1924 and in subsequent years was generally characterized by anti-Christian demonstrations, meetings, and distribution of anti-Christian literature in order to give vent to national aspirations. Until the intrusion of the communists, although there have been cases where anti-Christian activities overstepped the bounds of peaceful opposition, the movement was never meant to expel missionaries or to exterminate the Christian religion from China.

With the advent of the communists, however, the movement was kindled into greater

life. The communists are avowedly antagonistic to all religion. They are fundamentally opposed to Christianity, charging it with being a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes with which to oppress the workers. They say: "Christianity is the instrument in the hands of the oppressors. In mission schools the pupils are denied both freedom of thought and action. They are forced to read exclusively the hypocritical and idle creed of love for humanity and service to Jesus. At the same time the streets of Shanghai and Hankow flow with the blood of Chinese in consequence of measures adopted by the Christian Municipal Council, Christian British naval infantry and sailors." Catching the psychology of the moment, they appealed to patriotic feelings. Their appeal was something like this: "The constitution of China provides for the liberty of religious belief. Why, then, is it necessary for the Christian religion to be singled out for special treaty protection? Why should Christianity have a special status not accorded to other religions in China? In times of political unrest missions, schools, and other Christian institutions often call upon foreign consuls for protection. Foreign marines are sent ashore and sometimes into the interior with guns and bayonets in their hands to guard mission property. Does not this resort

to foreign protection place the Chinese connected with these Christian institutions in the unenviable position of relying upon foreigners and thus teach them contempt for their own country?" One can readily see how effectively this kind of appeal would rouse the non-Christian Chinese at a moment when the feeling of patriotism ran high and the wave of national consciousness was at its crest.

During 1926-1927, when the Nationalist campaign was at its fullest speed and height of success, it was unusual for mission and church premises in a captured city to remain immune from occupation by soldiers or political bureaus as they had during the revolution of 1911. What is worse, in every place where the Nationalist army arrived, there was started immediately virulent propaganda against the Christian Church and Christian believers. In the earlier period of the Anti-Christian Movement, attacks on Christianity were merely in publications and were confined to the small section of the educated class, but with the spread of the Nationalist revolution the sentiments against the Christian Church and Christian believers were disseminated by propagandists among the proletariat. This new wave of opposition was undoubtedly the cause of much material damage to Christian individuals and institutions. Churches and

schools were occupied and looted, and hospitals interfered with. Missionaries had to evacuate and Chinese preachers were harassed and disgraced, resulting in suffering of mind and body and even in deaths.

Narrow nationalistic spirit against foreign control of the Christian Church and communistic intolerance of religion were probably at the bottom of these sad events. But with the gradual restoration of law and order throughout the provinces the activities of the lawless elements of the Anti-Christian Movement have practically subsided or have been altogether suppressed. At present we seldom hear of molestation of missionaries or interference with the missionary work. The churches are recovering slowly but steadily, and missionaries are returning in large numbers. Nevertheless, the forces which called the Anti-Religion or Anti-Christian Movement into being are still there. Unless and until the causes for attack against Christianity are removed, no real peace and understanding between the Christians and non-Christians in China can be expected.

CHAPTER V

THE ANTI-ILLITERACY MOVEMENT

THE problem of democracy is a problem of education. Experience has shown that true democracy and illiteracy do not go together. They are like ice and fire. True democracy must be built on intelligent citizenship, which is not possible in a land where only ten per cent of the population can read and write. With ninety per cent of the people unable to read their daily paper as to what is going on in the country, or write their names on the ballots when they vote, it is no wonder that in times past a minority of the people should have succeeded in usurping the rule of China at the expense of the masses. The thinking class of the country has come to realize keenly the importance of making the populace literate. It is the conviction of many that the lot of the common people cannot be bettered until they are able to read and write. From the standpoint of national progress it is impossible to develop a country without the strength of an enlightened people, and the further the enlightenment is spread in any land the greater is the progress of that peo-

ple. Unless some way is found to make the masses literate, China will continue to be exploited by Militarists from within and imperialists from without.

The places of greatest illiteracy in China are very difficult to locate. The degrees of ignorance vary. For example, the ratio of illiteracy is greater in Northwestern China than in Central and South China, and greater in the country districts than in the large cities. Since most of the people live in country villages, it follows that the unlettered make up the great majority.

The main factor responsible for the high percentage of illiteracy in China has been, undoubtedly, the difficulty of learning the Chinese written language, which is as different from the spoken language as Latin is from English. It has been taught for centuries as the only literary medium, though to attain a proficient knowledge of it would require almost a lifetime. The call for a reform of the written language is therefore of the utmost importance, if one fourth of the world's population is to be made safe for democracy and prove a blessing to mankind.

In their cry against illiteracy the slogan of the reformers has been "To make literate China's millions of illiterate." There have been three or four movements with the pur-

pose of reducing illiterary by simplifying the written language.

The problem will not be solved, however, until the written language is made the same as the spoken language. Thanks to the literary revolution of 1917-1919, this requisite was provided. The substitution of the spoken language for the classical has greatly simplified the process of learning to read and write, provided the people with a more simplified tool for expression, and reduced the problem of illiteracy, though that was not the primary purpose of the leaders.

One far-reaching effect of the adoption of Pei-hua (the spoken language) is the replacement of all old literary writings in the textbooks of elementary schools by writings in the conversational style. A national convention of the teachers from the government normal schools, held in 1919, petitioned the Ministry of Education to require the teaching of Pei-hua in the elementary schools in place of the classical language. Accordingly, in January, 1920, the following proclamation was issued:

"We have received from the convention of the National Educational Association their decision to promote a national language, in order that the spoken and written language may become one. Moreover, they ask the Min-

istry of Education to take this matter into consideration and give effect to their decision. A further recommendation has been received by us from the Organizing Committee for the Unification of the National Language, urging the consideration and prompt change of the present Classical Department to National Language Department, etc., etc.

"We recognize that because of the difference between our classical and spoken language, education in the schools makes slow progress and the keen edge of the spirit of union both between individuals and in society at large has thereby been blunted. Moreover, if we do not take prompt steps to make the written and spoken language the same, any plans for developing our civilization will surely fail.

"This Ministry of Education has for several years made positive advances in promoting such a national language. All educationists, moreover, throughout the country are in favor of a change, by which the teaching of the national spoken language shall take the place of the classical language. Inasmuch, therefore, as all desire to promote education in the national language, we deem it wise not to delay longer in the matter.

"We, therefore, now order, that from the autumn of this current year (1920), begin-

ning in the primary schools, all shall be taught the national spoken language rather than the national classical language. Thus the spoken and written languages will become one. This Ministry requests all officials to take notice and act accordingly, and requires all schools under their jurisdiction to respect and carry into effect this order."

The other movement parallel to the literary revolution was the movement for the adoption of the phonetic script with the purpose of teaching illiterate men and women. As to the origin and progress of the movement, we can do no better than to give extracts from an address by the chairman of the Conference on Unification of the National Pronunciation.

"In the first year of the Republic of China the minister of education, Tsai Yuan-Pei, arranged a conference to consider the problem of preparing a phonetic alphabet for the Chinese language, in order that a standard pronunciation of the language might be adopted for the promotion of education. He invited the governors to appoint two representatives from each province, and the Ministry of Education invited thirty famous phonologists. There were altogether about seventy delegates present. The conference convened in February of the second year of the Republic of China, continuing until July.

"With reference to the adoption of the script, there was a strenuous debate in the conference. Some preferred the use of the Roman alphabet, some wished to adopt signs used in shorthand, some preferred to use Chinese stroke symbols. At last they agreed that since the phonetic alphabet was to be written by the side of the Chinese characters, the stroke symbols would be best, because more like the usual Chinese writing. But there is this difficulty: if the strokes of the symbols are very complicated, of course it will not be easy to bring them into popular use; if they are too simple, it will be hard to teach them to illiterate people, because when too simple, a slight difference in stroke means another symbol, and as illiterate people might not hold their pens steadily, it would be very difficult for them to indicate these differences. For this reason a selection of proper symbols has been made. At last the conference came to the conclusion that the best way to deal with the question would be to adopt simple stroke characters from the Chinese dictionary."

The use of the phonetic alphabet may be spread in the following ways:

(1) By printing the phonetic symbols by the side of the seven thousand to eight thousand characters, so that all primary schools throughout the country may use these charac-

ters in their Chinese textbooks, reading them according to this method of pronunciation.

(2) By using this phonetic alphabet in all notices, books, and newspapers for the common people, so that the people may read them easily, and the use of this alphabet thus become widespread.

(3) There are three other methods that will help to educate our people, and to bring immediate results:

a. The phonetic alphabet should never do away with the Chinese characters. All literature, books, magazines, etc., written by educated people for the common people, should observe the following arrangement in the use of the phonetic alphabet: The Chinese characters should be written in the middle of the page; on the right side should be indicated the phonetic alphabet signs, showing the national pronunciation, and on the left the local pronunciation, also indicated by the phonetic alphabet signs. Educated people could then read either the national or the local pronunciation.

b. In correspondence carried on between educated and uneducated people, or between two uneducated people, the Chinese character need not be used, but either the national or local phonetic alphabet signs.

c. In the front of every dictionary there

should be a table showing the Roman and Japanese pronunciation side by side, with the Chinese pronunciation expressed by the phonetic alphabet signs, so that the Roman characters may be used in correspondence with a foreigner who does not know phonetic alphabet signs.

The main purpose of the conference was to fix a standard pronunciation for the national language, but it also made a start in solving the problem of illiteracy. The preparation of the phonetic script was not only a means of unifying pronunciation, given to some seven or eight thousand of the characters in most common use, but it also served as a very important stepping-stone to the learning of the pronunciation of Chinese characters.

This pronetic-script system was officially promulgated by order of the Ministry of Education on December 23, 1918. It is now being taught in elementary schools and its use vigorously promoted by Christian missions. It is reported to have been introduced in the various provinces. As with other movements in China, everything seems to depend upon the attitude of the leading officials in each province.

How to get the unschooled masses to be willing to learn, and how to secure for them the necessary time, are problems that still re-

main. This has called forth a third movement, known as the Mass Education Movement, in the interest of those who have passed the school age and have no means of getting an education. It is estimated that there are about one hundred million men and women in this class, of course adults and adolescents. They are generally poor and hard-working, and unless education is made cheap and practical they simply cannot have it.

The program of the movement is twofold: (1) to promote interest, and (2) to produce literature. These two functions are in the charge of two departments, namely, the Promotion Department and the Production Department. The business of the Promotion Department is to map out educational campaigns in different localities for the purpose of establishing schools for illiterates, while the business of the Production Department is to prepare such simple literature as readers, posters, charts, etc.

A system was worked out so that illiterates might acquire a maximum of practical vocabulary within the minimum of time and cost. One thousand of the most commonly used words were selected, the mastery of which would enable one to write ordinary letters, keep accounts, and read simple newspapers. It is calculated that about four months of

classroom work of one and a half hour each week day would be sufficient to complete the "Foundation Characters" course.

The method of teaching is by use of textbooks, such as the "Commoner's Series," prepared on the basis of the selected vocabulary, or a scheme of visual instruction using lantern slides. The textbooks are prepared with the minister of education, Tsai Yuan-pei, ar- Each textbook contains twenty-six lessons, to be learned at the rate of one lesson per day. About nine new characters are provided in each lesson, arranged in the form of a story, a letter, or a biography of some great man. Each lesson is accompanied with a picture, and at the end of every lesson there is one exercise. This arrangement is believed to be scientific and easy for the illiterates.

The method of teaching by visual instruction and supervised mass recitation, using the stereopticon, has been described as follows: "The entire lesson for the evening was thrown on the screen. There first appeared, to the delight of every eye, a colored picture illustrating the character lesson. All the ingenuity of the teacher was brought to bear in making this picture a part of the pupil's life. Then appeared the character lesson which was explained and taught by the teacher, sen-

tence by sentence. Finally came the individual new characters, which were enormously magnified. After repeated drills, slide by slide and character by character, lights were thrown on for further review. Each student began to review the entire lesson (which had appeared on the screen) in his textbook. Meanwhile slates were brought out and each one learned to write the characters he had seen magnified on the screen."

The teaching is done entirely by voluntary workers, gentry or students. It is reported that there are more than forty Mass Education Associations throughout China. Each association is the unit which plans for the finance, staff, and equipment of the mass education campaign in the locality where it exists. It is purely a people's movement, though local officials do come in to assist. The movement of late has been inaugurated and pushed in the army by men like Marshal Feng Yu Hsiang and the young General Chang Hsu Liang, who have come to realize the importance of army education. The result is immensely gratifying. Not only have many of the illiterate soldiers learned to read and write, but the morale in the army is also fostered.

The significance of the Mass Education Movement cannot be overrated. It has been characterized by Mr. James Yen, one of its

promoters, in the following statement: "Reading has been traditionally looked upon by the people as a specialty to be pursued exclusively by the scholar. There has been in reality what is called the 'aristocracy of learning.' The Mass Education Movement, in championing the cause of 'education for all,' and in working systematically and persistently to bring education within the reach of all, bids fair to revolutionize the thought life of the masses.

"It is a movement by the people. The promotion of the campaign and the teaching and supervision of the schools are done voluntarily by public-spirited members of the community, such as business men, gentry, pastors, teachers and students of the schools and colleges. The campaign fund is contributed by the well-to-do members of the community. . . . One of the inevitable results is the boosting of education wherever it goes. On the one hand, it arouses the public sentiment of the leaders for general educational reform, and, on the other hand, it creates a desire on the part of rank and file for more adequate education.

"The mass education program provides favorable conditions for united effort where no material gain is possible and where unselfish service is demanded. Furthermore, by participating in this program the well-to-do and

the educated come to the realization that the welfare of the community depends upon the development and the intelligence of the masses. In the meantime, as these illiterate people themselves are given this opportunity for self-development, it creates in them a sense of personal worth as well as a sense of responsibility in the life of the community and the nation."

An important and laudable scheme for the education of the masses has been announced recently by the Ministry of Education of the national government. A Mass Education Committee has been created whose duty it is to formulate detailed measures and to train teachers for that purpose. The scheme provides that for mass education at least twenty per cent should be appropriated out of the national educational fund. This has already been promulgated in a mandate by the national government. Other measures of the scheme include the extension of public libraries in the interior, the opening of free schools, and the encouragement of music and other æsthetic arts. While the need for constructive efforts is felt on all hands by national China, the movement to curb illiteracy is by far the most urgent, and deserves the support of everyone who has the welfare of the Chinese masses at heart.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENT

THE fight against opium and its allied narcotics is an important phenomenon of this epoch. If the entire civilized race of mankind should rise to limit the production and use of narcotics to medicinal and scientific requirements, there would result a transformation which could easily be placed beside the greatest social movements in history. So far as China is concerned, this movement against opium means the enfranchisement and betterment of a race which has something to contribute to the world of civilization, and the burning out of a cancer which is eating its way into the life of the nation.

The horror of the opium drug is simply unrivaled. It enslaves the smoker and murders him at the same time. It slays his children and his children's children. It is a poison which impairs and then destroys not only the health of the body, but, what is far worse, the finer mental and moral faculties, and opens the way to an infinity of evils. In his petition to Emperor Tao Kwan for suppression of the evil, Mr. Ling Tsei Hsu, the Chinese "Bos-

ton Tea Party" leader, thus characterizes the deadly drug:

"Destructive are the flood and wild beasts; yet opium is more terrifying. No man in whatever generation to come will say that opium should not be totally suppressed. If Emperors Yao and Sung were alive to-day, the first thing they would do would be to eradicate the opium evil.

"Opium to a nation is like a tumor to the human body. The natural outcome of a tumor is poisonous pus; and the inevitable result of the opium traffic is national degradation.

"To eliminate the root of the evil, opium should be immediately and uncompromisingly exterminated."

The history of the Chinese fight against opium can be traced back to 1729, when an imperial edict was issued prohibiting the use of the drug imported by Portuguese merchants, though no great effort to enforce it appears to have been made. Later, with the increasing supply of the drug from India and Persia, large shipments were introduced into China from year to year. The drug habit, of course, spread like wildfire and could not be halted by local or national frontiers. Then began a flood tide of the opium trade. The plight of China and the flourishing of the trade went hand in hand. In 1796 the gov-

ment issued another edict, this time prohibiting its importation, but despite the prohibition, the imports had risen by the year 1830 to 2,500,000 pounds. In 1839 the governor in Canton meant business. He would not allow foreigners in Canton to leave until he was satisfied that they carried no opium with them. Finding three million pounds of opium in British ships anchored off Canton, worth six million dollars, a sort of "Boston Tea Party" went aboard, and seized and destroyed the drug in toto, which gave Great Britain an excuse for war and imposed humiliation upon China. As a result of the defeat, China was forced to cede to Great Britain the territory of Hongkong, to pay an indemnity in compensation for the opium, and to open five ports to foreign trade, including opium. Although China met with reverse in her first noble efforts to resist the introduction of the deadly drug, her place in the world drive against narcotics cannot be belittled. A righteous fire was kindled, which is destined to shape humanity in the years to come.

In 1906 the country resumed the fight against opium and ordered the abolition of its use by fixed annual decreases in production. Through the help of the United States of America, a ten-year agreement was arranged with Great Britain by which China

was to decrease her poppy growing ten per cent a year for ten years and Great Britain was to cut down her imports of Indian opium ten per cent a year for a like period. The agreement was signed and went into effect in 1907. April 1, 1917, was the date at which China was supposed to have rid herself of the poison. For several years after 1907 the struggle seemed to be succeeding, but with the gradual decline of the central authority, after 1915, the Peking government proved too weak to cope with the situation. The various provinces were practically a law unto themselves, and the *tuchuns* were either indifferent to the fight against opium or caused it to be grown, with a view to raising money to pay soldiers. It is no wonder that in all directions signs of recrudescence of the vice should appear. Various estimates have been presented as to the extent of the revival of poppy growing, but reliable figures are not forthcoming. It must be remembered that during this period the country was cursed with militarism and warring factions. The war lords of the provinces maintained big armies for their personal aggrandizement. They must somehow find revenue to pay their troops. It was this need for money that made the Militarists turn to opium, not only encouraging poppy planting but in certain cases actually compelling the

farmers to plant. Sporadic efforts were made by certain provinces to enforce the strict ban against such cultivation, but none has attained anything like a permanent result. With the exception of Shansi, Kirin, and the northwestern territory under the control of the Christian General Marshal Feng, there has been a general recrudescence in poppy cultivation and the opium traffic. Most of the suicidal wars can be traced in one way or another to the desire to control the opium-producing areas. Though supposed to be living under legal prohibition, it cannot be denied that China has suffered a severe relapse into the opium traffic.

Nor can it be denied that a large quantity of opium has been smuggled in from foreign countries. According to an estimate made by Dr. Wu Lein Teh, a veteran physician of international reputation, the annual smuggling of morphia, heroin, and cocaine is not less than twenty-seven tons. The seizure of foreign opium made by the Chinese Maritime Customs in 1924 was more than 85,800 pounds. It is also revealed that the yearly import into China stands above 20,000 cases at a value of something like 100,000,000 taels. It cannot be gainsaid, therefore, that the past decade has witnessed a period of opium recrudescence.

The third opium war was declared on the

24th of August, 1924, at a mass meeting held in the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, where more than thirty leading national organizations met to form the National Anti-Opium Association. The purpose of this association was to rally to the support of the League of Nations in its effort to secure restriction of the production and use of narcotics to medicinal and scientific uses, in all countries, and to see to it that the law of opium suppression in China should be enforced throughout the land. A manifesto was issued calling on the whole nation to join this new holy war and to fight to the finish. Unlike the first two opium wars, the present one was declared, not by the Peking government, but by the Chinese people, and not against any nation, but against the evil itself. Many leading cities responded to the call. At present the National Anti-Opium Association claims to have a total of more than four hundred branch associations, with an enlistment of over five million educated Chinese as active supporters. The immediate aim of the Anti-Opium Movement is twofold, namely, the complete suppression of poppy cultivation at home and the total stopping of the import of narcotics from abroad.

A call to observe September 28 as a national Anti-Opium Day, sent out by the Shanghai office, was observed by more than nine hun-

dred cities and towns. The public conscience was thus aroused to the seriousness of the opium situation. A petition signed by 4,265 bodies, representing 4,663,979 people, was addressed to the Peking government and the Geneva Conference, which was then in session, voicing the sentiment of the people on the world problem of narcotics. A people's representative was chosen to present this petition to the Geneva Conference in person.

The leading feature of the petition was the statement that the people of China were heart and soul in favor of America's proposal to limit the production and use of narcotics to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. It will be recalled that at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in 1921, China, through her delegate, had offered a resolution of like nature, which was killed in the Assembly by a skillful alteration of the wording. In support of America's proposal at this time they simply reoffered their former resolution. The petition also suggested that in order to stop the smuggling of narcotics there should be such control of the production of raw opium that no surplus would be available for non-medical and non-scientific uses. The Association asked that the League of Nations should realize the helplessness of the Peking government to suppress the culti-

vation of the poppy under the then existing situation. In addition, it asked the Geneva Conference that Articles 15 and 17 of Chapter 4 of the Hague Opium Treaty, relating to measures by foreign powers to prevent smuggling and to restrict and control the habit of smoking opium in their leased territories, settlements, and concessions in China, be strictly re-enforced, for unless the foreign authorities in these spheres of influence suppress *pari passu* with the Chinese, the Chinese alone cannot effectively deal with the question.

The people's delegate, together with the government's chief delegate, made a good impression on the Conference, but they were compelled to walk out with the American delegation on the following grounds:

1. The Conference adopted no measures to actually reduce the production of raw opium, decrease the number of addicts by means of registration, or control the traffic in opium.

2. The Conference stood for opium monopoly as the only means to control the sale of opium. China's view is fundamentally different. She stands for total suppression, which can never be accomplished through monopoly.

3. The powers possessing colonies in the East are dependent upon opium as the source

from which nearly half of their revenue is derived and are unwilling to make large financial sacrifices for the sake of humanity.

4. The decisions of the powers concerned to make the beginning of the period of fifteen years, during which the traffic in opium is to be gradually reduced until it is totally suppressed, were made dependent upon previous evidence of China's ability to deal adequately with her own situation rather than upon a demand for such evidence from any other country.

The Chinese viewpoint concerning the withdrawal from the Conference is shown from the following piece of correspondence which appeared in a local English paper:

"Sir: I am deeply impressed when I read in your newspaper the sentence, 'Great Britain suggested fifteen years but made the proviso that the fifteen years shall begin to be counted from the time when China shall have suppressed her growth of opium to that stage which will remove the danger of opium smuggling from China into other Far Eastern territories.' I do not know why Great Britain is unwilling to get out of the opium business until China, the weakest member of the family of nations, stops the growth of opium. At

present the Chinese government is corrupt in the extreme, and its mandates are not respected by the war-mad lords even within the Peking city wall. The suppression of poppy plantation and the prevention of opium smuggling both into and from China are practically impossible to be undertaken by the government, and other nations are aware of its incapacity.

"Again, all nations attending the Geneva Conference can stop the opium business today, if they want to take the course of humanity. We have seen how the United States prohibited opium smuggling into the Philippines after the defeat of Spain. What America has done in the Philippines Great Britain can also do in India, Borneo, and her Far Eastern territories, France in Indo-China, Portugual in Macao, Holland in the Netherlands, East Indies, and Japan in Formosa. The prevention of opium smuggling from without is not sufficient, and it must be coupled by suppression at home.

"I am not at loggerheads with the British, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese governments, but make these remarks in the highest spirit of friendship. The American delegation took the moral course by walking out of the Geneva Conference, and I pray other delegations will play fair. The selling

of opium is a problem of morality and not of business."

Failure at the Geneva Conference convinced the Chinese people that they must work out their own salvation without too much dependence on the help of the foreign nations. They therefore decided to throw off the opium shackles at all cost. Three things they resolved upon:

1. *The Complete Prohibition of Poppy Cultivation.* First, the National Anti-Opium Association of China is fighting for the complete prohibition of poppy cultivation. It strongly maintains that poppies must be uprooted and no future planting allowed if we really mean to suppress opium. Not all of the northern provinces have taken this step; the Association is directing all its efforts to effect this action. The Nationalist government has definitely decided on the policy of pulling up the poppy; the Association is going to see that the regulations are carried into effect.

2. *The Total Suppression of Foreign Narcotics.* The other source of habit-forming drugs comes from abroad, and chiefly in the form of narcotics, that is, morphine, heroin, and cocaine. These narcotics are flooding in from all sides and in increasing quantity

every year; so long as these drugs are on the Chinese market it will be useless to attempt the prohibition of opium; for narcotic drugs are not only ready substitutes for the opium, but are many times more pernicious. For this reason, the National Anti-Opium Association of China is vigorously fighting for the total suppression of foreign narcotics, foreign, because China never manufactured such drugs. When the poppy is all uprooted and no longer planted, and foreign narcotics are confined to legitimate needs, it will be only a matter of days to prohibit the traffic in and the consumption of opium.

3. *Anti-Opium Education and Amelioration.* It has been well said of the opium scourge: "The cause is ignorance; the consequence, misery; and the remedy, education." Therefore, while aiming at cutting off the sources of supply, the National Anti-Opium Association of China is also agitating for an anti-opium education and amelioration on a big scale, so that present addicts may be cured in a very short time, and future generations safely guarded.

It should be pointed out here that the work of the National Anti-Opium Association, though functioning as a public body, is essentially carried on through activities of the Chinese Christians. It was the product of the

Anti-Narcotic Committee of the National Christian Council, which is still its sponsor and which is one of the chief constituents of the Association. Regarding the failure of the Geneva Conference, it expressed its disappointment and firm stand in the following resolutions:

"1. The Council regards it as a matter of profound regret and disappointment that the Geneva Conference failed to reach an agreement designed to bring about the complete cessation of the opium traffic within an early and limited period of years.

"2. The Council has sorrowfully to admit the recrudescence of opium growing and the increasing use of the drug in China in recent years, a fact which was made one of the reasons for not taking immediate steps for suppression at the Geneva Conference.

"3. The Council pledges its efforts to secure the co-operation of the whole of the Christian forces with which it is or may become associated in a persistent and continuous effort to bring to an end the cultivation and the use of opium in China.

"4. The Council urges its supporters and sympathizers among the nationals of all countries to use their utmost influence, in China and abroad, in a fight which will not cease

until the opium traffic has been utterly crushed."

One of the hard battles the Anti-Opium Association has had to fight is the proposal of an opium monopoly to keep the opium trade within limits and direct the opium revenue to the government treasury. This was first proposed by Sir Francis Algen, a British employee in the Chinese Maritime Customs, who argued that an opium monopoly by arranging for a regular import of opium, and regularizing prices, would take away the chief incentive of the smugglers; and that by insisting that purchasers be registered it would restore that important stimulus to the giving up of smoking. This proposal to institute a government monopoly on opium was made to the Peking government by Militarists and politicians shortly after the Geneva Conference of 1925. The Association, however, was of the opinion that, the monopoly once established, the sale and smoking of opium would become legalized and would open the way for Militarists to raise money by openly forcing cultivation and traffic. Moreover, as long as opium was obtainable on the market, the addicts would always find money to purchase, no matter how much its cost. Again, the Association seriously questioned the sincerity of the government in

establishing the monopoly for the purpose of suppressing the opium traffic. For this reason, under the leadership of the author of this book, a strenuous campaign was carried to the Rehabilitation Conference, then holding sessions at Peking. Besides protesting in person against the establishment of the monopoly, the writer took with him a petition from the National Anti-Opium Association, containing seven suggestions for suppressing opium in China:

1. Establish independent bureaus in different provinces for the direct control of the opium traffic by Peking.

2. Forbid illegal pressure being brought to bear on farmers by Militarists to plant the poppy.

3. Reiterate instructions to the customs officials regarding the importation of the drug.

4. Establish hospitals and sanitariums for the care and cure of opium addicts.

5. Emphasize again the old law regarding the arrest of men breaking the opium laws.

6. Eliminate from office those officials who are opium smokers.

7. Co-operation by all people with inspectors.

In the meantime local associations in the various provinces rose up with one accord to

back the author's effort. Telegrams and manifestoes were issued by different people's organizations denouncing the government's attempt to institute monopoly either as a means of raising money or as a means of control. This public opinion was too powerful for the government to ignore, hence the proposal of legalized opium was dropped, to the credit of the government.

The Nationalist government proclaimed recently a limit of three years of opium suppression, and the way it was to be brought about. This looked suspicious to those who make no compromise with the legal sale of the opium by opium tenders or by government institution. To show that public opinion is set against anything like an opium monopoly, an anti-opium monopoly meeting was held in Shanghai, at which scores of nation-wide organizations were represented. A petition to the government and the central executive of the Nationalist party was passed, the gist of which is as follows:

1. The cultivation of the poppy, the consumption and sale of, and the traffic in opium and other narcotics should be totally prohibited, all at the same time. No compromise in whatever form should be allowed.

2. Income from opium suppression must be used entirely for establishing anti-opium hos-

pitals and extending anti-opium education. No opium taxes should be collected.

3. Since the Opium Suppression Bureau does not aim at collecting taxes, it should belong to the Ministry of Home Affairs; it should not be under that of Finance.

4. Foreign narcotics, being more noxious than opium, should be simultaneously prohibited. Offenders should receive the heaviest penalty.

5. Officers under the Nationalist government, civil or military, who are found to be in any way connected with the traffic in opium and other narcotics, should receive the death penalty.

That the whole volume of public opinion is strongly opposed to anything like an opium monopoly can be seen by the response of people's organizations whenever such a scheme is contemplated by the government, South or North. To direct the growing formidable movement against any such scheme, the National Anti-Opium Association needs simply to issue strong manifestoes calling on all the branches, and the people throughout the country line up to urge the government to bow to the will of the people and stand firm in a decided policy of complete prohibition.

The activities of the Association have centered upon enlightening the public with facts

about the opium situation, seeking to show how opium is injuring the people and their country. To achieve this end, the Association has been conducting a comprehensive investigation into the extent of poppy cultivation and the general effect of the opium traffic upon the people. It seeks to educate through the use of anti-opium lectures, literature, posters, lantern slides, moving pictures, oratorical contests and interschool debates on the subject of narcotics. The home, the school, the church, and other organizations of the people are asked to help by stirring up the people to action. Every year the country is called upon to observe a period of seven days as an Anti-Opium Week. Lectures, parades, theatrical performances, and other forms of demonstration make the general features of the program. For instance, the period of October 2 to 8 was observed as the Anti-Opium Week this year. To arouse the general public and make them ready to take part in the activities of the week, the first day was designated as Publicity Day. It being Sunday, anti-opium sermons were preached from the pulpit and a special number on opium was issued by the leading dailies. Other days of the week were designated as Family Day, Student Day, Merchant Day, Labor Day, Law Enforcement Day, International Day. Interesting posters

on shop windows and street cars, special headlines in the newspapers, and vivid anti-opium slides in movie theaters proclaimed the National Anti-Opium Week. Posters showing tigers and snakes, representing opium and morphine, were seen in conspicuous places and tramcar posters bearing such words as "Arise and Eradicate Opium and Morphine" were most effective. Anti-Opium plays were also staged in theaters, and anti-opium songs were sung in public recreation grounds. It is interesting to note that the observance of this week was nation-wide, and that the participants were from all walks of life. While in the field of politics the North and South may differ, in the question of opium suppression the people of both sections have been and are always one. If a strong public opinion amounts to anything in a fight against the opium evil, the anti-opium week has certainly achieved much and is bound to achieve more.

Now that China is unified under a Nationalist Central government and is commencing the work of reconstruction, the Anti-Opium Movement enters upon a new period of agitation. Believing that the Nationalist leaders should carry out the will of their chief, Doctor Sun, an uncompromising attitude toward the opium evil, the Anti-Opium Association has turned its attention to the policy of the new

regime and watches every step the Nationalist government makes. To make known its own firm stand on this question and to express its hope of what the Nationalist government may accomplish, a manifesto was sent out broadcast calling for renewed activities and greater efforts. At the same time a petition was addressed to the Nationalist government asking:

1. That the government instruct the local military and civil authorities to begin the prohibition of poppy cultivation in areas under their control this fall. The local authorities are to be responsible for any poppy discovered to be in existence in their locality hereafter.

2. That the government set a definite time limit for the total suppression of the illicit traffic and sale of opium in the different provinces under its control.

3. That the government instruct the different provinces to start compulsory ameliorative asylums in every district and to conduct a survey of the addicts, requiring them to be treated in shifts. Special arrangement should be made for controlling the sale of opium to the old and sick addicts by a system of registration so that the amounts sold would be gradually decreased until stopped altogether.

4. That the government instruct all the officials both in military and civil service to set an example for the people. Anyone found

smoking opium should be immediately discharged.

5. That the government instruct the authorities of the different ports to guard strictly against the importation of foreign opium, morphine, heroin, cocaine, and other forms of narcotics. Anyone found engaged in this business should be duly dealt with, regardless of his nationality.

6. That the government instruct all publishers to include anti-opium educational material in textbooks for middle and primary schools.

7. That the government lodge a strong protest against the legalized opium monopoly system maintained largely for Chinese residents by the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and British colonial governments in the South Sea Islands.

8. That the government appoint a special committee on opium suppression to carry out the above plan.

The Association manifesto is as follows:

"That opium is one of the chief causes of China's troubles is a truism that needs no illustration. It is out of a deep realization of the horror of the opium evil that this association was organized in 1924 by not less than forty important institutions of Shanghai, with

no distinction of occupation or religion, the support being so general because all felt that nothing short of a nation-wide movement could give a death blow to the most heartless of all evils. It is now almost three years since this institution came into being. Internally, we have combated Militarists and gentry, because of whose greed the cultivation of poppy has become so extensive in many places that the opium tax has become one of the chief sources of revenue, and smuggling a very common practice; externally, we have struggled against profiteers of imperialism, who by virtue of unequal treaties, extraterritorial rights, and foreign concessions have made opium and narcotic smuggling an unusually productive traffic. Our enemies being, as it were, legion, the success we have so far achieved is necessarily small. It is only through the hearty support of awakened citizens and sympathetic friends that the Association is still able to carry on the glorious fight.

"Now that a greater part of China has come under the Nationalist rule, we deem it is time for us to re-enforce the movement with new efforts. We strongly believe that the suppression of opium is closely related to the success of the Revolutionary Movement; for the opium evil that sucks the people's vitality and impoverishes their livelihood, and serves

the aggressive policy of foreign imperialism and constitutes the main support of Militarists, is in direct contrast to the reconstructive program of the Kuomintang, which hails the downfall of both imperialists and Militarists and directs all efforts to the realization of the 'Three Principles of the People.' In the sixth chapter on 'Psychological Reconstruction' of his 'plan for National Reconstruction,' Doctor Sun called the first period of the Nationalist rule a period of destruction, during which the opium evil amid many others would be totally extinguished. The suppression of opium is also mentioned in the statement of policy recently agreed upon by the Kuomintang authorities. Doctor Sun again maintained in one of his statements given in Canton, 1924: 'In my opinion, the problem of opium suppression in China is synonymous with the problem of good government. For traffic in opium cannot coexist with a national government deriving its power and authority from the people. For it is incontrovertible that Chinese public opinion—the opinion of the average peaceful and law-abiding, decent, and respectable citizen—is strongly opposed to the opium evil, and any, even temporary, surrender in the fight against the illicit opium traffic, much less the proposal to readmit the legitimacy of the opium trade, is revolting to the nation.'

We have reason to believe that all faithful members of the Kuomintang and authorities in the Nationalist government will keep true to these momentous utterances of the late leader, and will try their utmost to exterminate the opium evil."

Recently the Nationalist government has embarked on a policy of absolute prohibition. Instead of providing for a gradual elimination of the evil, the new Act, which was promulgated September 10, 1928, requires that opium be suppressed at once. Hence, according to Article 2 of the new Act, the smoking of opium is to be made punishable in accordance with Article 275 of the Criminal Code, beginning from March 1 of the eighteenth year of the Chinese Republic (1929), and that whatever opium, morphia, cocaine, heroin, as well as their derivatives as may be required for medical or scientific purposes shall be handled by organs specially created by the Nationalist government. In response to the petition of the National Anti-Opium Association, the task of opium suppression was taken out of the hands of any government ministry and intrusted to a newly created National Opium Suppression Committee, which functions directly under the national government.

A National Opium Suppression Conference has also been convened. The work of the conference was divided along five lines, namely, suppression of poppy cultivation, of the trading, sale and smoking of opium, and other questions relating to the same subject. At the conclusion of the conference, some forty-four resolutions were passed and a lengthy manifesto was issued, setting forth the object of the conference and calling upon the Nationalist government to strictly carry out the various measures proposed. In conclusion, the conference urged all foreign governments to evince their sympathy with the aspirations of the new regime in its effort to prevent the further spread of the evil, looking to its eventual extermination. In part the manifesto points out that "while it seems out of place to enter into the question of foreign settlements and concessions in a conference of this nature, yet it is an undeniable fact that the foreign concessions and settlements, which are beyond the jurisdiction of Chinese law, have been utilized by the unscrupulous merchants as their base of operations. Therefore it is the opinion of this conference that for the effective execution of the various opium suppression measures, the sooner the authority over the foreign concessions is returned to China, the earlier will the uniform enforce-

ment of the opium-suppression laws become a reality."

Whether or not the Nationalist government is going to succeed in this new policy of absolute prohibition nobody can predict. When the government is involved in many vital problems in connection with national reconstruction, it seems unjustifiable for one to be very optimistic. But as long as the people are firmly united in their gigantic struggle with the deadly evil, the victory over opium is half won. This is the hope that urges all people to fight on; and they must not fail.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

No one traveling in China can escape seeing the posters with the slogan "Down with Militarism" or "Down with Imperialism." The average Chinese reader may not understand the exact connotation of the slogan, but it denotes to him some expression of a desire to rid China of the war lords' oppression and foreign encroachment. The spirit behind this "Down with Militarism" and "Down with Imperialism" is not the product of one or two unfortunate incidents. It represents a reaction against something intolerable. It is like a rising tide which cannot be stopped. It is one of those great uprisings of humanity with which historians of the West are familiar. Comparatively speaking, the Chinese people have been more patient with their oppressors than the Western people would have been under similar circumstances. In short, what is happening in China to-day is the inevitable. Just how soon China will succeed in her effort to throw off all her shackles nobody can predict, but the hand on the wall points to a continuous struggle unless and until that goal is actually reached.

Read the following handbill which was found spread broadcast in the city of Shaohing, January, 1926, and you will understand something of what is actually happening in China to-day:

"During the past thirteen years we have been trampled by militarism from inside and imperialism from the outside.

"Fellow countrymen! If from now on we want to leave this bitter sea and want to get future blessing, the only way is to unite and fiercely beat down militarism from within and imperialism from without. We people are very miserable. We shout with misery, but no one answers, and also there is no place to which we can make complaint.

"Brother farmers! You have worked hard for a year but still you have to buy rice from others. Brother workers! You work more than ten hours a day, still you cannot support your families. Brother merchants! You use your capital to manufacture and transport goods, but through war and taxes your payments are in excess of your capital.

"Brothers of all ranks! We have suffered so at the hands of robbers and soldiers that we can no longer live in the country or sleep in the city. Is not this the result of the quarreling and disputes of the selfish Militarists

who are generally known to be in league with the imperialists?"

Year after year, ever since the coming of the Republic, the Chinese people had been looking for an improvement in conditions, but instead they had suffered all the more. This state of disappointment, however, was not without its compensations. Slowly but surely the people were brought to see that so long as they remained aloof and took no active interest in the government of the nation, their miserable condition could never be improved. It was this national determination to save themselves that laid the foundation of the Nationalist Movement.

The cry for national salvation was heard largely among the intellectual class, especially among the students. With the students the ideal of patriotism is not merely something to be preached but actually a precept to be practiced. The next class of men who caught the surge of this rising tide of nationalism were the workingmen and the peasants. They were illiterate, but they were taught to read and were lectured to by the students, who told them the power of organization in demanding better wages and fairer treatment. The result of this was soon seen in the mushroom-like growth of the labor and peasant unions

and in the strength of these unions as manifested at all national crises. Thus the substratum of Chinese society is being reached. It is to this class of laborers that the Nationalist Movement makes its strongest appeal, and from them it gains the largest hearing. When thoroughly organized and under trained leadership, this coherent mass of people will surely become a power not to be lightly reckoned with.

The political advocate of the Nationalist Movement is the Kuomintang, which means "the People's Party." This party has had a history of forty years. Its founder was the late Doctor Sun Yat-sen. Seeing the country so corrupt under the rule of the Manchus, Doctor Sun and his party worked for the downfall of the Manchu imperial regime. This was accomplished in the year 1911, when the baby emperor was deposed and a republican form of government proclaimed. This overthrow of the Manchu rule, however, did not bring the political reform which Doctor Sun and his followers had in mind.

Indeed, Yuan Shi Kai, in whose favor Doctor Sun resigned the presidency of the Republic, was not sincere in carrying out the spirit of the Republican government. He soon found himself in dispute with Parliament and dissolved it to suit his own imperial aspirations. In the meantime President Yuan had

created a large army commanded by generals who were his favorites. Soon after, President Yuan died without realizing his personal ambitions, but leaving the country to the scrambling of the generals who had become inordinate and uncontrollable. These generals became a law unto themselves and ruled the provinces under an iron military heel. Realizing the plight of the country, Doctor Sun and his party led a seditionary movement against the Peking government which was under the domination of the Militarists. A new government was set up in Canton and a new army was created to be sent northward as a punitive expedition against the Militarists. Here and there this army met with dismal failure, but the spirit it represented burned on like a wildfire. Having failed to reach Peking at the head of an expeditionary force, Doctor Sun was forced to compromise with the Peking government in order to bring about a People's Convention to be assembled in Peking. Hardly had the plan for the calling of this convention been brought forth for discussion, when the revered leader was taken ill and died of an incurable disease, leaving a will enjoining his adherents thus:

"For forty years I [Doctor Sun] devoted my life to the revolutionary cause in an at-

tempt to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. My experience of these eventful years has absolutely convinced me that to attain this cherished goal we must enlist the support of the great mass of people at home and work in co-operation with those nations which treat us on the basis of equality.

"The revolutionary movement has not as yet succeeded, and it is therefore imperative that all my fellow workers should do their utmost in order to realize my 'Reconstruction Plan,' 'Outline of Reconstructive Policies,' 'The Three Principles of the People,' and 'The Three Periods of Government' as enunciated in the manifesto of the Kuomintang at the first National Convention.

"Fight on, my fellow workers, with renewed vigor, to bring about a People's Convention for the solution of our national problems and to abolish the unequal treaties with foreign nations. These things must be done in the shortest time possible."

The three principles referred to in Doctor Sun's will are:

1. The Principle of Nationalism.
2. The Principle of Democracy.
3. The Principle of Livelihood.

The three periods are:

1. The Period of Military Government.
2. The Period of Educational Government.
3. The Period of Constitutional Government.

Following the general nature of Doctor Sun's "Reconstruction Plans," a platform was adopted by the Kuomintang at the National Convention assembled some five years ago. This platform reads as follows:

(A) Foreign Policies.

1. All present treaties not based on the principle of equality between China and any foreign power to be abrogated (thus covering extraterritoriality, foreign control of tariff, "spheres of influence," and all other political privileges enjoyed by foreign powers at the expense of China), and all other future treaties to be based on such equality.

2. Any nation voluntarily relinquishing such special privileges is to be treated by China as in actual fact a "most favored nation."

3. No foreign loan made to China to be repudiated unless detrimental to the political and economic rights of China, or contracted by an irresponsible government for illegitimate uses.

4. A national convention of such groups as chambers of commerce, banking associations and educational associations, to be called to

devise ways and means to free China from economic bondage to foreign powers by refunding foreign loans.

(B) Domestic Policies.

1. The Kuomintang advocates a middle course between a centralized and a decentralized form of government.

2. Each province to have the right to establish its own constitution and elect its own officers as it sees fit. Whenever the National and the Provincial constitutions are in conflict, the former prevails. The governor of a province to have a dual function as executive of the province and as representative of the National government.

3. A Hsien, or district, shall be recognized as the local administrative unit for self-government, electing and recalling its officers, and initiating and voting upon laws.

All taxes from lands and revenues from water power, forests, and mining to go to the treasury of the Hsien government.

The National government to give grant-in-aid to any Hsien for certain public purposes.

Each Hsien to contribute to the treasury of the National government a certain percentage of its receipts, from 10 to 50 per cent.

4. A universal suffrage law to be enacted,

replacing the existing election law based upon property ownership.

5. A civil service system to be established.

6. Compulsory military conscription to supersede the present recruiting system, the economic and legal status of the army and navy to be raised, and agricultural and vocational training to be given to soldiers.

7. The right of the people to assemble, to organize, and to express themselves in speech or in writing to be guaranteed; and the right of residence and freedom of belief to be protected.

8. The idle and the vicious to be put to compulsory work.

9. Land revenues and rents to be regulated by law, and unnecessary taxes to be abolished.

10. A census to be taken; arable land conserved, and both production and consumption of the people regulated, so as to distribute equitably the wealth of the nation.

11. Labor laws to be enacted; working conditions improved, and labor organizations protected and encouraged.

12. Equality of sex in the legal, economic, and educational fields to be promoted.

13. Universal education to be provided.

14. Industrial enterprises of a monopolistic nature or beyond the financial resources of

individual entrepreneurs to be undertaken by the National government.

These are the policies of the Kuomintang which, together with the Three Principles of the People, are being taught in schools, preached to the army, the workingmen, the peasants, and the people as a whole. Such is the heritage of the late Doctor Sun, who has become, in death, even more influential in the people's thinking than he was in life.

Doctor Sun's unaccomplished task, as enjoined in his will, was to be continued by the members of the party which claims loyalty to the Three Principles. The death of the great leader, however, ended all high hopes of uniting China by round-table conference. So a military expedition was prepared to crush the war lords through a Nationalist revolution. But the small army which the party was able to command at the time was poorly organized, equipped, and trained. It needed outside help, experts and equipment alike in order to bring it to an efficient state. Knowing the psychology of the Chinese people, and having already ingratiated herself with the Chinese people by voluntarily relinquishing the special privileges which she had enjoyed under the antiquated unequal treaties, Russia came forth with eagerness to help put the Nationalist army on a war basis. With this outside help,

the Northern expedition was gotten under way. In the course of a few months the Nationalist army was able to conquer stronghold after stronghold held by powerful military war lords, until now the Nationalist government claims the allegiance of all the provinces.

It must be acknowledged, however, that propaganda has won more victories for the Nationalist forces than have their cannons and machine guns. Never before in China has the march of an army to victory been paved with so much paper. It is said that "one propagandist is worth twenty armed soldiers." It was the propagandists who paved the way for the soldiers; who went among the laborers and peasants and explained the mission of the Nationalist army.

"From the very beginning of the campaign, propagandists, men and women, have served as vanguards for the army, slipping ahead into districts and villages, braving death and torture at the hands of enemies.

"At first the propagandists were regarded with suspicion by the people. The coming of troops meant one thing to the Chinese peasant—looting, pillage, rape, ruin. This wall of prejudice had to be battered down. The people had to be made to understand that the Nationalist army was a different army.

"Slowly, and by exemplary behavior on the

part of the troops, the word spread through the countryside that indeed this was a 'different army.'

"Gray clad, serious youths, the troops came quietly and marched on; eating their own simple food, greeting the peasants as 'comrades' and 'brothers.'

"Armed only with light hand rifles, the Cantonese army has faced and is facing modern war equipment in the hands of Northern armies; heavy guns, airplanes, bombs; trench mortars.

"A fine, high spirit has spurred these men onward; each made his 'will' before leaving home, each pledged that he would never speak of a fallen comrade as dead; that he would say 'Tsi hwas.' ('He has won his flower.')

"This spirit and the knowledge that twenty thousand trained propagandists marched forward with them have given the Nationalist troops courage to walk into the devastating fire of smashing guns, with .32 rifles in their hands."

Indeed, the Northern army could well have withstood the onslaught of the Nationalists, had not the sympathy of the entire population been with the latter.

"As one or the other of the Northern generals seeks to advance, he finds strikes im-

peding his progress; finds his mercenaries losing their zeal for warfare and deserting in mass to the enemy, his motor truck convoys stalled, his military trains sabotaged. Even the warships of the Northern forces have gone over to the advancing Cantonese. Crew after crew mutinied after being inoculated with propaganda germs by a few students among the crew, and after reading high-powered tracts in the vernacular, received from mysterious sources."

Credit must be given, however, to Russian assistance in the winning of the Nationalist campaign. It was due in some measure to Russian aid in propaganda and military advice that city after city could have been taken in such amazingly short time. "Had Russia fully understood Chinese psychology," as a foreign journalist writes, "she would have gained the sincere gratitude and friendship of the Nationalist government and party, satisfied with all the material advantages which would have flowed from it. But her aims were more far-reaching. Already she had started a systematic campaign to spread communism in South China. She had poured money into the Southern provinces to win over the laborers and the peasants. She had drawn the Chinese apart, disrupted party ties, undermined friendships, and weakened the power

of the Nationalist party by vicious propaganda and sinister machinations."

The sixth army, under General Chen Chien, marching upon Nanking against the Northern troops, was composed of diverse elements. Hardly had the main army arrived when some began to riot against the foreigners in Nanking so as to discredit General Chiang Kai-shek, whose meteoric rise had caused Chen Chien to be jealous. Moreover, General Chen had a relative, a man named Lin, who was a political communist commissary of the sixth army, who also was anxious to see Chiang's influence and prestige destroyed. It was Lin, with his band of accompanying agitators, who faithfully carried out the program of the "Nanking Incident." The exact cause of the "incident," however, is not known to this day, and it is more than probable that it will never be known.

But Chiang was alert and equal to the situation. Laboring under immense difficulties, he gradually restored order in Shanghai and prevented possibly another "incident" there. In Nanking he restored order with his own first army and, relentlessly pursuing General Chen Chien's army, succeeded in capturing and disarming at least one of that general's divisions. General Chen was eventually arrested and duly punished.

In the following April Chiang Kai-shek started a general drive against the communists. This drive was so effectively carried out that it was a complete surprise, and resulted in the capture of thousands and thousands of communists, and in the seizure of great quantities of arms and ammunition which were to have been used in the general uprising of the communists, and a mass of documents and literature of the communistic cause.

"The salvation of China and the Nationalist party," General Chiang called this crusade; "and a salvation not only to China and the party but to foreign nationals and their governments it was, for communism and communistic agitation and mob rule, if not entirely exterminated, were rendered *hors de combat* and a communistic China had ceased to be a menace to the world."

A good deal of misrepresentation and misunderstanding have arisen from the fact that Russia has given aid to the Chinese Nationalist revolution. One can even hear the "old China hands" of to-day condemn the whole movement as Bolshevik or under Bolshevik influence. Soviet Russia has aided the Nationalists in much the same way that France aided America in securing independence from England. Russia, doubtless, was acting from selfish motives, but as she avowed herself

China's friend and ally in the war against Chinese militarism and foreign imperialism, her assistance was welcomed. Generally speaking, "a drowning man does not question the political belief of someone who offers him assistance."

It is true that Russia has brought communism into China and that communists have been at work within the Kuomintang itself. It is also true, however, that there is a Right Wing and a Left Wing within the Kuomintang. Furthermore, the Left Wing is again divided into right and left groups. The left group of the Left Wing consists of communists who had been admitted into the fold by accepting the "Three Principles," and the right group of the Left Wing are those sympathetic with communistic policies. This admission of the communists into the Kuomintang makes the distinction between Kuomintang and communists no simple matter. Fundamentally speaking, however, the two sets of principles widely differ. Communists have communistic principles, Kuomintang have Kuomintang principles. The communists were tolerated within the Kuomintang merely for the sake of a successful prosecution of the Nationalist revolution. It was inevitable that after reaching a certain point the two should eventually separate, for their

ultimate aims were different and their policies divergent. It is still a debatable question whether the two should have joined hands at all, even for the success of the earlier stages, for complication was bound to come. And it did, as was evidenced in the split between the Nanking and Hankow governments. At present the two parties are engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Which will gain supremacy nobody can tell. But one thing is sure, communism cannot be suppressed by mere suppression, and the result is likely to be the reverse. The only weapon the communists fear is the increase of the welfare of the masses. The better the conditions of life, the less alluring are communistic doctrines.

Russian communism and Chinese Sun-Yat-senism have found similarity in their zeal for a revolution coming from the peasants and laborers, with a definite program for their improvement. But, even here, the two part company. Here is what Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the Nationalist leader of the Left Wing, had to say on this point:

"In connection with our Farmers' Movement in Hupeh and Hunan, the communists have been advocating the 'confiscation of all lands' and the 'overthrow of all landowners.' But the poor farmers have not really benefited

from this: it is the local rascals and crooks that have swollen on these lands. They appropriate for their selfish application and interpretation one of Doctor Sun's own statements, that 'the farmers shall till their own soil,' which, however, as Doctor Sun himself explained in his 'Principles,' as well as in a speech delivered at the Farmers' Movement Institute at Canton on August 23, 1924, was to be effected through evolutionary and legal measures. He did not mean that land should be confiscated—much less by the people themselves without even the knowledge of the government.

"We need, therefore, to explain to the farmers the difference between the communist program and that of the Kuomintang. The former makes a beautiful promise in confiscating lands, but in fact seriously impairs the welfare of the farmers themselves by breaking the social compact which involves the farmers as well as others, and also by throwing men out of employment, resulting in a general state of unrest which is instrumental for its own success. The Nationalist program as set forth in the declaration of the first Kuomintang convention is not nearly as high-sounding and attractive, but is calculated directly to answer the needs of the peasant class and clearly defines its status in the revolution.

"We say to the farmers: 'Do you say that you are suffering from the lack of lands to cultivate? But China has plenty of lands that are not inhabited. We believe that the trouble is not that you do not have lands which you can cultivate, but that you do have lands which you cannot cultivate. The famines in the North have not all been due to droughts —other conditions have contributed. You farmers need to have money with which to buy implements, seeds, and cows, but where is the money to come from? Yes, you can borrow, but the interest is outrageous and you run the risk of having to sell your sons and daughters to pay the rent of the land and redeem the debt, in case crops should be bad. So the fundamental solution to the problem is not land alone, but also other facilities like agricultural banks that could really relieve you farmers of your suffering. These agricultural banks will not suddenly spring into being; they depend largely upon the financial conditions of society at large. So we see that we must face the situation not only from the point of view of the farmers but also in consideration of what I referred to as the social compact.'

"And this is only one phase of the problem. There is also the disturbance caused by bandits and bad troops, who often spoil the crops,

kill the fowls, burn the huts, or even capture the children for ransom. Here we see that the web includes not only the economic conditions but also the political conditions.

"And even when these difficulties are solved, there is another serious obstacle to the farmers' well-being in that China exports agricultural products and imports industrial goods. Beans and cotton, which the farmers toil very hard to produce, are exported very cheaply to foreign lands, where they are made into bean oil and cloth and sent back to China at several times the cost. The little money that is the price of the farmers' sweat soon slips out of their hands at a much faster rate than it accumulates. The scores of trading ports are like so many wounds through which blood is steadily trickling down and weakening the Oriental Sick Man! The unequal treaty and the one-sided tariff will soon pull China into a state of bankruptcy, from which the farmers, as well as anybody else for that matter, have no escape. So to solve the problem of the Farmers' Movement we must solve not only economic and political conditions but also improve China's international relations. These conditions are very intimately connected with the farmers, and in them we find the justification of what we often hear—'Let the merchants, farmers, laborers, and students unite

into one group,' 'Down with Militarists,' and 'Down with Imperialism.' These are revolutionary programs that directly answer the needs of the farmers and are planned in the interest of the farmers themselves.

"An explanation like this will enlighten our farmers in recognizing the futility of the communist proposition of class conflict and the necessity of the unification of all classes of people to participate in the Nationalist revolution.

"Take again the Labor Movement. The loudest claim made by the communists is that their party belongs to the proletarians and that they propose to give them the country too. But, mind you, the country will not belong to the proletarians, but will belong to a few leaders of proletarians, who use the mass as a tool for the success of their own political struggles. Last May the Hanyang District Division of the Kuomintang, under the control of the communists, decided to take over the fifteen factories of Hanyang and put them under labor control—an experiment which had been made and had failed in Russia and Italy, where the factories soon ran short of money, material, and fuel, and had to be turned over to the government or the capitalists again. Did these people in Hanyang not know about the impracticability of their plan? Yes, they

knew it as well as anything. Then why did they advocate it? Were they stupid or crazy, or what? No, they were intentionally putting up the plan with a view to embarrassing the government and causing, through unemployment, a state of panic which would disturb economic conditions. They wanted to displace the Kuomintang with their own party in the Nationalist revolution, and were willing to take any consequences in regard to the welfare of the laborers.

"The Nationalist program of labor again, humble as it sounds, is based on the needs of the laborers. Like the farmers, the laborers are an organic part of the social compact. The Nationalist revolution does not seek the welfare of the laborers alone, but it does seek that, and the welfare of the laborers must receive final and permanent protection after the revolution has been successfully carried out. If, therefore, the laborers are given to understand this policy of the Kuomintang, they will undoubtedly withdraw from the communists and enlist themselves in the Nationalist revolution."

CHAPTER VIII

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
(CONTINUED)

ONE of the prerequisites for success and for completion of the Nationalist revolution is considered to be the downfall of foreign imperialism which has had China in its grip ever since the conclusion of the unequal treaties. Space is too limited to discuss how and when serious impediments to a true democratic China should be removed, but the Chinese desire for their removal is only natural and apparent. Ask any Nationalist leader what the Nationalists are fighting against, and he will at once tell you that they are combating two things, namely, "Foreign imperialism" and "Native militarism." For example, General Chiang Kai-shek, generalissimo of the Nationalist army, in no uncertain terms, tells in the following document the objects for which he has been fighting:

"China is very backward because of imperialism. Imperialism is preventing China's economic development, bleeding her to death to fatten its own capitalists, and, further, to control her economic destiny. By economic,

political, educational, and other methods it is cutting off our territory, opening ports, controlling customs, forcing the acceptance of unequal treaties, the carrying away of China's products, forcing delivery of raw materials at low prices, reducing our country to a mere market place of the imperialists. Imperialism is using our Militarists to create confusion, and to destroy the development of industries in China. This is done to further protect their own special powers. The Militarists succeed to the ideas of the ancient monarchists, and join with imperialists in sacrificing the interests of the people and the industry of the nation.

"In recent decades Yuan Shih Kai tried to be emperor and Chang Hsun tried to restore the emperor, Feng Kuah-chang and Hsu Hsi-chang tried to destroy the constitution, and Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu usurped positions and robbed the country. These all have trodden down the people so that China has become almost a feudal fief.

"The purpose of the revolutionists is to break down imperialism and militarism and to create a free and independent nation, in order to protect the interests of the state and of the people. This has been the life idea of my master [Sun Yat-sen]. Therefore our party has held the first and second National

Assembly, and so the government and I myself make this declaration.

"Imperialism and militarism keep each other, hence if we want to accomplish our work, we must break down these. To do this we must unite the efforts of all the people to sweep away the Militarists of the country and the influence of the powers that oppose the revolution. When my master was about to die he urged that we should go to fight with the North. The aim of his declaration is not only to put down Tsao and Wu but also to make, once for all, a clean sweep of all anti-revolutionists, so that there might be no successions, not only to break down the Militarists but also to strike down the imperialism on which the Militarists rely. This must be done to root out all anti-revolutionists forever, that China may come out of her feudalism and become a free and self-governing nation.

"Also in my master's declaration it is plainly said that after our victory we must use the power of the revolutionary government to sweep away all powers and influence of the anti-revolutionists, to set free the people and to seek self-control, as regards foreigners, by abolishing all unequal treaties and bringing about mutual self-respect. Thus we must sweep away all imperialism in China,

that she may be elevated to a position of international equality.

"Of the above objects all possible should be at once put into practice, and of the remainder I (just and upright) and my fathers and brethren pledge ourselves to the utmost for their accomplishment. To all our people (fathers and brethren) I state that the revolution is for the benefit of both the country and the people, and it is truly of the people themselves. The people are the foundation of the revolution. The goal of the revolution is to strike down imperialism. To do this we must have the support of all the people. Now, the gathering together of the armies at Wuchang is to break down imperialism. To strike down Wu Pei-fu and a few other Militarists cannot be regarded as the sole end of the revolution. Hence, fathers and brethren, quickly come together under the 'Blue Sky and White Sun' (the revolutionary flag) and give yourselves to this cause, for your own great benefit, to the organization of revolutionary bodies, for the strengthening and establishment of the army and of the Kuomintang government. Also all these people who are not yet under the sway of the Kuomintang army should secretly organize and promote the work of the revolution. Do not sit still, but accomplish your revolutionary duty."

It will be readily seen that the Nationalist Movement and imperialism are fundamentally incompatible, and that fighting against imperialism does not merely mean the overthrow of foreign political control but a struggle for economic freedom as well. Hence the campaign against imperialism was popularly staged.

This campaign, however, must not be confused with the Boxer Uprising. The ignorance and fanaticism of that movement were blindly anti-foreign, but this campaign is only anti-foreign in the sense of fighting for legitimate rights and national sovereignty in much the same way that America fought the British and Italy the Austrians. In other words, the aim of the anti-imperialist campaign is national independence. Therefore the distinction between anti-imperialism and anti-foreignism should be clearly understood. That this is important can be readily seen from the following speech delivered before an audience of subordinate officers by General Chiang Kai-shek:

"We do not want always to be under bondage. We want our freedom. We want to release our fellow citizens and save the country from slavery. We must save the Chinese people and avenge them where they have been wronged. However, there is one thing that I

want to make clear to you all, and which I want you always to bear in mind, and it is this: We must know that there is a difference between the two. Imperialists are governments which have been aggressive in China, which have held China in bondage. Therefore it is necessary that we should overthrow them.

"If foreigners are friendly toward and show a disposition to support us, then we must unite with them, but we must do all we can to overthrow their imperialistic governments. Our late President, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his policy of equality, aimed at the release of China and refused to tolerate ill treatment or snobbishness. But we must not be snobbish nor must we look down upon others, or ill treat foreigners. We want real independence, so we have organized the revolutionary armies to fight for the people and even sacrifice their lives for their principles. We must fight on, comrades; we must be ready to die, and we must be of one mind. Let us love each other, let us die together and overthrow the enemy. After that, none will dare to look down upon us or ill treat us. We will then attain peace, freedom, and equality."

Nor is the movement Bolsheviki, as some of the foreign imperialist propagandists would have the world believe. If it is Bolshevism

for the Chinese to want their own country for themselves, free from the stranglehold of imperialistic aggression, then in China's case it is virtue rather than sin. It is true that Soviet Russia was aiding the Nationalists in the early stages of their struggle against imperialism, but that does not mean that Soviet Russia should seek to fan the fire of anti-foreign feeling or to dominate China in the hope of strengthening her own influence in the Far East and embroiling China with foreign nations. While China actually employed Russians as military and political advisers, she did not hesitate to discard their services and expel them as soon as she found that these agents were seeking not the good of China but that of the Third Internationale. It will be remembered that only a year ago the killing and the expelling of communists were carried out throughout the entire nation, thus purging the government and party from communists' control. Even Russian consulates and state commercial agencies had to be raided, as they had been used as bases for communist activities. More recently the raid on the Soviet consulate in Harbin and the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which revealed the machinations of the Soviet consular authorities and the utilization of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Soviet staff mem-

bers for the purpose of plotting against the Nanking government, were sufficient to show the world how China's people refuse to be made Bolshevistic. In short, the Chinese Nationalists are fighting against imperialism, be it red or be it white.

With the awakening of China and with the growth of an imperialistic design to keep China in its grip, Dr. Sun Yat-sen foresaw some forty years ago that the only way to save China was to overthrow the corrupt Manchu government, and thus arouse national consciousness. Doctor Sun realized that the Manchu government must go because it stood in the way of Chinese nationalism, and that imperialism must go because it sides with the oppressors, so that their ill-gotten special privileges are secure. In his discussion on China as a member in the family of nations Doctor Sun held that in the name of humanity and in the interest of international peace China must cease to be a prey of foreign imperialism and must first be freed from the unequal treaties which have bound her hand and foot for the past decades. Both Doctor Sun and his adherents saw that the imperialistic powers will do everything possible to support the contending military factions either through the supply of ammunition or the arrangement of a loan with a view to ad-

vertising China in the eyes of the world as a chaotic state. Hence the dispute moves in a vicious circle: The imperialistic powers say, "We cannot give you equality of status because you have not a stable government and your courts are now subject to military control." The Chinese reply: "We cannot subdue our Militarists nor develop a stable government because of foreign interference and control. We must be independent and equal in order to move."

A writer recently asks: "After all, what is it that we Chinese want to which the imperialists object so vehemently? Do we want to occupy the British Isles or France or Japan, establish extraterritoriality, control their customs, patrol their coasts and rivers with our warships? Do we want to impose unequal treaties on them or establish Chinese concessions in their midst? Do we want to operate their mines and railroads? Do we want to establish the right to propagate Confucianism or Christianity by Chinese missionaries enjoying extraterritoriality? Do we want to bombard their towns when we deem fit or fly our military aeroplanes over the heads of the British, French, or Japanese in their own countries without permission? Do we want to do such things in these countries either under the pretext that they do not behave in a way

to please us or because we think we are a superior race? If we did these things, we really would not need to feel ashamed, because then we should only be doing unto others what they have done unto us. It would be fair and 'reasonable.' Perhaps by so doing the imperialists would accord to us the respect they have for themselves. No, no, this is not what China wishes to do, although the powers have so done unto her. The Chinese are reasonable people; all that they ask in this movement is the inherent rights of an independent nation."

In principle China claims China for the Chinese; she asserts she shall be free to work out her destiny in her own way, whether others like it or dislike it. She demands the restoration of her birthright. She insists on the scrapping of unequal and unfair treaties which were imposed on her under duress. She would annihilate the last vestiges of international bondage. In other words, Nationalist China will insist upon and work for the restoration of her full sovereign rights and will not cease her efforts until this is accomplished. In the future, foreigners in China shall not enjoy privileges which they do not enjoy in other self-respecting, independent countries. All that is accorded and permitted to foreigners in Great Britain, France, Japan, and

the United States will be accorded and permitted in China, but no more. The foreigner is a guest and must behave like a guest. If he does not like his host's house, he must either suffer it or leave it. The host will see to it that he is not to be bossed by his guest, whatever the guest may think. That, in a nutshell, is what is implied by the anti-imperialistic campaign in China. In concrete terms, it signifies that if foreigners want to live in China, they must be subject to Chinese law and courts, they must pay taxes as the Chinese do. All unilateral treaties must be replaced by equilateral ones. Their warships and troops shall not visit China except with her permission; all restrictions on her freedom regarding customs tariff, trade, and industry must be completely abolished; all concessions, leased territories, and territories seized from China through imperialist aggression must be returned to her. These are China's modest demands, and they should be the demands of all countries under similar circumstances.

What are extraterritoriality, foreign concessions, tariff restriction, and why are they resented by the Chinese?

Extraterritoriality is a survival of the antiquated conception of personal sovereignty. It means the establishment of an *imperium*

in imperio. It has been defined as "the sovereignty of law, being transferred bodily into a foreign soil and made applicable to citizens and subjects of its own nationality dwelling there."

Extraterritoriality, or consular jurisdiction, strictly speaking, is not within the pale of international law. Hall says: "These privileges properly find no place in works on international law, because they exist only by special agreement with countries which are incompetent to set precedents in international law." Technically, then, extraterritoriality is extralegal. Extraterritoriality in China dates back to 1842, at the end of the Opium War, when China was forced to take opium from British India and to sign a treaty with Britain with a provision that jurisdiction over British subjects in China was reserved in the British consuls situated in the treaty ports. The practice is generally carried on under the following rules:

(1) Penal matters. If a native commits a crime against a foreigner, he is generally tried in the local court. If a foreigner commits a crime against a native, he is generally tried in the consular court of his state. If a foreigner commits a crime against a foreigner of another nationality, he is generally tried in the consular court of the injured foreigner.

(2) Civil matters. In cases involving a foreigner and a native, the trial is generally by agents of the two countries. In cases involving foreigners of different nationalities the consular court of the defendant has jurisdiction.

This practice of consular jurisdiction is resented by the Chinese on the following grounds:

(1) It is in derogation of China's sovereign rights, and is regarded by the Chinese people as a national humiliation.

(2) There is a multiplicity of courts in one and the same locality, and the interrelation of such courts has given rise to a legal situation perplexing to both the trained lawyer and to the layman.

(3) Disadvantages arise from the uncertainty of the law. The general rule is that the law to be applied in a given case is the law of the defendant's nationality, and so, in a commercial transaction between, say X and Y of different nationalities, the rights and liabilities of the parties vary according to whether X sued Y first or Y sued X first.

(4) When causes of action, civil or criminal, arise in which foreigners are defendants, it is necessary for adjudication that they should be carried to the nearest consular court, which might be many miles away; and

so it often happens that it is practically impossible to obtain the attendance of the necessary witnesses, or to produce other necessary evidence.

(5) It is a further disadvantage to the Chinese that foreigners in China, under cover of extraterritoriality, claim immunity from local taxes and excises which the Chinese themselves are required to pay.

(6) Consuls of most nations are not legally trained and are therefore not competent to try cases. This being the case, consular jurisdiction is unsatisfactory to the Chinese and to the foreigners as well.

(7) In lawsuits at a consular court the Chinese are at a great disadvantage in that they must have the services of an interpreter and a foreign attorney, or a foreign-trained Chinese lawyer, all of which are expensive. Therefore if there is any justice in a consular court, that justice is often dearly bought.

Concessions are places set aside as settlements for residence and business of foreigners, as recognized in the treaties signed under duress. The origin of foreign concessions is also traceable to the Treaty of Nanking, signed with Great Britain in 1842. Each nation having a concession in a certain port administers and polices its own district. For example, there are several foreign concessions

in Tientsin and Hankow, each representing a different nationality and administered by a municipal council elected by the foreign ratepayers living in the concession. In these foreign concessions on Chinese territory Chinese citizens may take up their residence, but the real estate, as a rule, is not open to Chinese ownership.

As to why the Chinese demand the rendition of these foreign concessions we cannot do better than to borrow the pen of a British observer:

"The foreign concessions and settlements in China are like bits of the West End planted down in Limehouse, and it was inevitable that they should become the symbol of China's inferiority among the nations, and one of the chief battlegrounds in the fight between the old order and the new.

"On a proud, oversophisticated civilization like China's, which has just begun to talk the jargon of our modern economic policies and has an inflamed sense of national pride, the spectacle of the concessions and settlements forced on the country by past wars must have the same effect as would a Chinese settlement along the Thames from the Tower to Westminster Bridge, wealthy amid squalid surroundings, immune from the national courts, and exempt from the national jurisdiction

and from all taxation but that of the customs, on a Briton from Hoxton or Shoreditch. Nor would indignation be lessened by the arrival of a division of Chinese troops equipped with the latest contrivances of war.

"It is not necessary for British trade in China that we should offer any affront to Chinese national pride. The Chinese are the last people in the world to allow themselves to be used as the tools of foreigners, Bolshevist or imperialist. Their strength has made obsolete the old imperialistic ambitions of Japan, and their powers of organization would enable them to ruin us in China by boycott if we set ourselves to maintain a privileged and insolent position in defiance of the new national sentiment."

A study of the legal status of the foreign concessions and settlements in China as accorded by the treaties will reveal that the Chinese government has never surrendered the sovereignty over the territory on which the foreign settlements stand, nor have the foreign governments ever claimed that China has done so. Within these territories China's authority ought to be supreme. But it is not. So little is authority recognized that certain foreigners of the International Settlement in Shanghai contend that the Chinese government should not be allowed to establish of-

fices within the settlement limits without permission from the Municipal Council.

According to the earlier grants by treaties, settlements are merely places set aside for foreign trade and residence. As to how the Shanghai settlement came to assume the function of municipal activities and to rule it as an empire within an empire, it will be interesting to reproduce here an account of the process given in an article on "Foreign Concessions and Settlements" from the October 4 issue of the China Critic last year:

"From the day the Chinese authorities put their seal on the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, allowing British subjects and their families to reside at the towns and cities of Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow and Shanghai, 'for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits,' foreigners have strengthened their original right, until the situation has become a challenge to the sovereignty of the Chinese government. First, they took into their hands the problem of sanitation. Then the consul in charge selected 'upright merchants' to form Committees of Roads and Jetties. A police or 'watch' was established over foreigners and Chinese alike. Land regulations were revised without China's knowledge. The Committees of Roads and Jetties were dissolved and 'municipal councils' instituted. The latter

claimed the right to levy taxes and to impose wharfage dues on all merchandise landed within the concessions. Roads were projected into Chinese territory. Legislative, and to a certain extent judicial powers were assumed. Certain Chinese were warned not to come into the settlements, under pain of arrest. Foreign troops flood the concessions. Regular Chinese government forces have been compelled to vacate certain localities. And very recently the Municipal Council of Shanghai—the real name of which is 'The Executive Council for the Foreign Community of Shanghai, North of the Yangkingpang'—even tried to stop the Chinese government from opening its branch offices within the settlement, and actually instituted a small standing army under the name of the 'Russian Company, Shanghai Volunteer Corps.'

"The weak condition of the Chinese government offered every opportunity for the settlement authorities to encroach upon its rights, and even at present, when the Chinese have been aroused from their slumbers, the latter show no disposition to relinquish the accessions to the power. They present the facts as *fait accompli.* They base their arguments on the right of prescription. They employ an *argumentum ad hominem,* and point to the fact that the Chinese flock to the concessions

whenever there is trouble in the interior. But, everything said and done, the present state of affairs cannot keep on forever, and the legal status of foreign concessions and settlements has become quite definite and clear."

That the foreign-administered concessions and settlements on Chinese soil must be rendered to China sooner or later is a fact no reasonable people can deny. The reasons for demanding their early rendition to Chinese control, however, were succinctly summed up by the Chinese delegation at the Versailles Conference, and we conveniently quote them below:

"That whatever necessity there was for separate residence [between Chinese and foreign subjects] has entirely ceased to prevail appears clear from the fact that in such treaty ports as Nanking and Changsha, where no foreign concessions exist, Chinese and foreigners live together in peace and friendship. This is true even of the existing concessions themselves, wherein large numbers of Chinese and foreigners reside together without restriction.

"Besides, China has in recent years made great progress in municipal government and believes herself prepared to assume the responsibilities for effective administration which will necessarily be implied in the de-

sired restoration of the foreign concessions and settlements. Not only has the administration of such large cities as Peking been modernized and conducted to the satisfaction of Chinese and foreign residents alike, but also in the German and Austro-Hungarian concessions at Tientsin and Hankow, of which the Chinese government assumed charge on their declaration of war on these powers in 1917, no serious criticism has been heard of the Chinese administration.

"Nor does the maintenance of these arrangements appear now as an essential arrangement for the enjoyment of the right to trade. In the last two decades China has steadily been pursuing a policy of encouragement of foreign trade and commerce. She has not only consented by treaty to add a number of places to the list of treaty ports, but on her own initiative she has opened to foreign trade many places in the interior. In the places voluntarily opened by China, foreigners who are required to observe the Chinese municipal and police regulations on the same footing as Chinese have found no discouragement in that requirement. They are steadily moving into these places, which, though only recently opened to foreign trade, are rapidly becoming prosperous business centers.

"In view of the foregoing considerations

the Chinese government entertains a most earnest desire that all the foreign concessions and settlements be returned to China at once."

Tariff autonomy is a right of which no independent nation can be too jealous. Every nation must have full power to regulate its own tariff, for the control of tariff means the control of the economic development of the nation. It is a sovereign right of an independent nation which cannot be questioned. As a result of the treaty of 1842 China was compelled to sign away her tariff autonomy, which means not only a loss of sovereignty but also of a great source of revenue. It is estimated that the loss in this connection every year amounts to 500,000,000 taels. The loss of tariff autonomy also means the extension of the market that imported goods enjoy and a steadily shrinking market for home products. That the loss of this integral right is disastrous to Chinese industry cannot be denied, for domestic industries are at the mercy of foreign competitors.

"A short period of dumping is sure to kill any budding industry in China. Moreover, overlapping and repeated taxing of customs duties on Chinese goods results in a much heavier tax upon native products than foreign goods. For instance, to ship a silk piece from Hangchow to Shanghai the merchant

pays the duty once. When the silk is bought by a customer in Shanghai, and when he sends the silk to Hankow by the parcel post, he has again to pay duty. If the same piece of silk is again sent from Hankow to Peking, another levy of duty is to be paid. But the foreign goods having once paid the entrance duty at any port may be sent anywhere in China again and again without paying further import duties."

The most ridiculous thing is that cigarettes and wines pay on the average the same five-per-cent *ad valorem* duty as locomotives and cotton-piece goods. Moreover, the revenue realized from the Chinese maritime customs is ridiculously low and is at present hardly more than enough to pay foreign indemnities and a few domestic loans. Again, the customs administration being under the control of the foreign staff, too much of the customs revenue goes to enrich foreign pockets in the form of large salaries, while the Chinese staff working under foreign control, and working the harder, receive comparatively a much smaller compensation.

Suppose that the tariff of the United States were restricted to a five-per-cent *ad valorem* by treaty provisions, that Congress could not raise these rates without the unanimous consent of the European powers, and that the

customs duties were collected by a foreign-managed administration, would not one say offhand that America lacks even the shadow of fiscal independence? Under similar circumstances would not the American people resent the fact and agitate for revision? Surely, no self-respecting people could demand less.

The agitation against tariff restriction, foreign concessions and settlements, and extra-territoriality, is not new, but with the development of nationalism it has become greatly intensified. As a result of repeated protest and agitation the principle that China should be given back her tariff autonomy was affirmed at the Washington Conference. In order to carry out one of the two main provisions of the Washington Conference, a special Tariff Conference was called in Peking (now Peiping) in 1925, in which twelve contracting powers participated. The participating powers were quite sympathetic with the Chinese wishes, but for some reason or other they did not feel quite ready to give China complete tariff autonomy outright. They were willing to revise the five-per-cent *ad valorem* rate, the lowest in the world, and consented to the request that the Chinese national tariff law should come into effect on January 1, 1929. Hence, in the summer of 1928, China officially

requested the powers to authorize their ministers in Peiping to open negotiations on the subject of tariff. This request was promptly met, and up till the time when the national tariff was promulgated, some eleven or twelve states had already signed treaties with China promising the abolition of tariff restrictions. But the coming into effect of the new national tariff this year is not to be regarded as the full realization of tariff autonomy. It simply gave China semi-autonomy of tariff and put her on probation for one year. Since the new tariff is to remain in force for only one year, there is good reason to believe that China will enjoy full tariff autonomy when that time expires.

The present state of affairs in the various foreign concessions and settlements is confusing and anomalous. Between 1917 and 1927 seven of these foreign residential areas were retroceded. These include the concessions retroceded by Russia, Austria, and Germany following the close of the World War, and the recently retroceded British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang. The British concession at Tientsin is also under negotiation for retrocession, and China can hope to have it returned within a reasonable time. The Japanese have made no move toward the rendition of their concessions, but Japanese trade

in the country has been almost completely paralyzed by the nation-wide Chinese strike and boycott.

Of all the concessions and settlements in China, the problem of the International Settlement in Shanghai is most complicated. Satisfactory settlement of this will go a long way toward bettering the future relationships between the Chinese and the foreign residents. The Shanghai settlement is international in name but British-controlled in fact. The Chinese residents constitute almost ninety-five per cent of the settlement population, and pay between sixty and eighty per cent of the taxes, yet they are allowed to have only three members out of the twelve seats in the council. This membership was granted only last year; prior to that there had been no Chinese representation in the council, despite the fact that they contributed by far the greater share of the municipal revenue. This state of affairs is irritating and should not be allowed to continue, but the "die-hards" of the foreign population are constantly seeking to discredit the Chinese by propaganda campaigns and thus are making the situation worse. They are making it difficult for the more moderate Chinese elements to carry out the legitimate aspirations of the people and are thus playing into the hands of the radicals, who do not

favor proper negotiation as a process for recovering the settlement.

The demand for the abolition of extraterritoriality has been the bone of diplomatic contention for several decades. Effort after effort has been made by Chinese delegations to the various international conventions for restitution of China's right to administer justice to foreigners residing within her territory, but each time, when the question came up, it was either sidestepped or pushed to the future. As matters now stand, the national government on April 27 of the present year sent official notes to the various governments concerned, expressing its desire to negotiate on the abolition of extraterritoriality in China. Originally there were sixteen powers possessing extraterritorial rights in China, but both Germany and Austria had their treaties abrogated following the close of the World War, while Russia voluntarily relinquished hers as a gesture of friendship. The powers that still claim this right are: the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Spain, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal. Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, and Spain, with which China negotiated new treaties last year, agreed to relinquish their extraterritorial right when a majority of the powers represented at the Wash-

ington Conference have made treaties to a similar effect. At the time of this writing (August 12, 1929) it is known that the reply of the powers to the note of April 27 has been received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Nanking, but the contents of the replies have not yet been made public. Whether the replies are favorable or not, it may well be noted that since China has recently been united under one central government and as the new law codes are to be promulgated by January 1, 1930, justice will be administered equitably and impartially both to Chinese and foreigners.

China has suffered under the oppression of foreign imperialism for more than eighty years. She has not exercised the same sovereign right as has America or even the smallest independent nation of Europe. The old China was dormant, but Nationalist China has awakened to the fact of her ill treatment at the hands of the foreign powers and is anxious to see amends made. What Nationalist China now demands is nothing more nor less than that foreigners living or seeking a living in China shall not enjoy greater privileges or rights than they can claim in their own country or other parts of the world. All that she asks is the inherent rights of an independent state.

Another serious impediment to the development of a real democracy in China was the existence of military feudalism in the form of personal armies led by military chieftains who freely ignored the orders of the central government and regarded the territory which they occupied as personal domain and ruled it like petty kings. It was all the result of Yuan Shih Kai's scheme to make himself emperor. Not satisfied with an eight-year term of presidency, he began to work for the imperial throne. With a view to putting down any rebellion that might rise against him, he raised armies and stationed them in the various provinces. Soon Yuan died in disappointment, leaving the armies without a national leader who could command general respect. Each army had its own commander and none of these would fully recognize any supreme commander-in-chief. They ruled by force and taxed the people as they pleased, to amass personal wealth. They were ready to sacrifice everything to maintain themselves in power. They raised money by any and every means to pay their mercenary troops; still worse, they let the soldiers loose to prey upon the people. Whenever there was movement of troops, these generals commandeered all means of traffic, on land or on water.

These provincial military rulers, known as

tuchuns, had no respect for any civil administration. Nor would they recognize the authority of the central government. They collected the taxes for Peking, but the proceeds never went to the national treasury. When the central government protested, the rulers laughed in their sleeves. Indeed, the prestige of the central government dwindled from year to year, for no government can command a hearing unless it has control of the army and finance. Both of these were taken from the central government as a result of the insubordination and interference of the Militarists who ruled the provinces. There was a saying that the authority of the central government did not extend farther than the vicinity of the capital. For example, the minister of communications could not even appoint the director-general of a railroad because the military lord through whose territory the line passes insisted upon his henchman holding that post. Nor could the minister of interior appoint a single civilian official without first obtaining the consent of the Militarists concerned.

Each of these Militarists gathered about himself politicians who made such alliances as were necessary to keep him in power. Most of these men knew military tactics, but few of them understood politics. They had to depend

upon professional politicians for the management of their political machine, and they were generally beset by political parasites. Some of them became tax collectors, while others took the high-sounding name of advisers. Still others served as traveling agents. These men all lived on the *tuchun*, trying to get something out of him or his enemy. In the game of military politics the machinations were carried on by these professional men. Whenever there was a possibility of a specific money-making job, the yamens (official residences) were filled with these men, political hunters for the carcass. This everlasting game of military politics went on in spite of the dire distress of the masses, the paralyzing of trade and commerce, famines and floods, and the process of disintegration and degeneration. The *tuchuns* with their advisers and agents continued to scheme and intrigue in order to hold what they had or to increase their holding. Wars were fought merely to pave the way for other wars.

The truth about militarism in China before the Nationalist revolution is revealed in the following statement issued by Marshal Wu Pei-fu against his enemy, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, commander-in-chief of the Fengtien army:

"Wherever the Fengtien soldiers went, the disgraceful behavior and atrocious conduct of

their leaders have been unparalleled in spite of the fact that Shantung is the center of our civilization. Chang Tso-lin sent thither several tens of thousands of Chinese and foreign bandits, erroneously termed troops, for the purpose of devastation. Wherever his troops went they violated the women. His tax collectors have left nothing of value behind on their trail.

"I was born in Shantung, and during the past year, whenever my fellow provincials visited me, we seldom parted without shedding bitter tears over the suffering of our people in Shantung, now in the hands of Fengtien soldiery. Chihli also is a poor province, and of late has been visited by famine as well as ravaged by soldiery. But, regardless of the suffering of the people, Fengtien has robbed Chihli in the same atrocious way it robbed Shantung. Even this did not satisfy Chang Tso-lin's greed, and he has resorted to the practice of bandits in holding peaceful citizens in Tientsin and Peking for ransom, or has used local ruffians to manufacture evidence for the purpose of implicating innocent persons, or confiscating private property without respect for law. Middle-class people are consequently confronted with bankruptcy, while the poor await death by starvation to relieve them of their misery.

"Kiangsu is the prosperous center of the Southeast and Shanghai is its principal city and a pivotal point of commerce and communications in which both foreigners and Chinese have great interests. The dismantling of the Shanghai arsenal and the permanent withdrawal of all troops from Shanghai were earnestly requested by the local citizens. In response to their request the government issued a mandate authorizing the dismantling of the arsenal. Fengtien, however, disregarded the wishes of the people and the undertaking of the government. Seizing the occasion when troops were stationed at Shanghai, Fengtien soldiers occupied the district. Not only were they without discipline and disturbing to the peace and order of the locality, but the soldiers competed with each other in the sale of opium, while there was constant brawling among them over dividing the spoils. This naturally drew contempt from foreigners.

"Soldiers are maintained by the government for the purpose of according protection to the people, while officials are maintained for the guidance of the people and control of the soldiers. Unfortunately, Fengtien has been guilty of the deeds of thieves and robbers, and this under the protection of the official seals. Undoubtedly, this is the lowest strain to which human morality can descend.

"About a year ago Fengtien had about 100,000 soldiers. To-day this number has been increased to 300,000. Recently Fengtien borrowed from a certain bank the sum of $3,000,000 with which to rebuild the Shanghai arsenal. At the same time Fengtien has purchased from two foreign countries 150,000 rifles of newest model and granted to these arms dealers a trade monopoly in all the commercial parts of China. From this evidence it may be seen that Fengtien does not intend to cease its nefarious activities until the suffering which has been inflicted upon Chihli, Shantung, and Kiangsu is visited upon the rest of the country."

Similar statements which have been issued by Militarists, one against the other, can be multiplied. It has become the fashion among Militarists to issue long manifestoes enumerating the crimes of the party they intend to attack, and making fine promises which are forgotten as soon as they have obtained what they wanted. In general, the heavy hand of militarism is running China headlong to financial ruin, and the people are drifting toward extermination. Millions of dollars have been collected from the sweat and toil of the people. Because of the long years of military disturbance the schools have either been occupied by troops or they have ceased to op-

erate owing to lack of funds. If portions of this money so wasted in the destruction of China could be applied to education, how much more prosperous and intelligent a nation we would be!

Opium and bandits thrived under the cover of military chaos. The successive wars in Shanghai between Chekiang and Kiangsu were primarily the result of competition for control of the huge illicit opium trade centered around that cosmopolitan port.

Banditry is generally known to be the result of famine, floods, and unemployment, but it has been aggravated by the frequent disbandment of defeated troops in possession of arms. The bandits do not always hide in the mountains. Many of them live in the villages, preying on travelers and raiding towns.

Looked at from every angle of the question, militarism in China as it was constituted was the root of all evil. It must be outrooted before China can set her house in order. It is an evil even to the Militarists themselves. For those who have indulged in the pastime of expanding their army see now a horde of armed men who might turn against them at any time. Those who are leading the armies are finding themselves in a not altogether pleasant condition. They are "riding the

tiger," to use a Chinese expression. It is difficult to manipulate the steed and it is hazardous to get off; the beast might turn on its master.

It is therefore not strange that the people who have suffered so much and so continuously under the hoof of militarism should rise in arms to rid themselves of this evil. No matter how patient and peace-loving a people may be they will always show teeth against their oppressors when driven like beasts at bay. No wonder the people have welcomed and joined the Nationalist Movement in an active campaign against militarism. Read the following catchwords and slogans and you will understand the significance of the People's Movement:

Farmers, Workers, Merchants, Students, Unite and Arise!

Destroy Militarism!

Strengthen the Revolution in its new territory!

The Official Power Belongs to the People of the Revolution!

Set Up a Clean Government!

Kick Out the Grafters!

Spread the Teachings of the Party!

Foster the Farmers' and Workers' Good!

Quickly Have a People's Assembly!

Do Away With Unequal Treaties!
Foster the Kuomintang!
Foster the Republican Government!
Cheers for the Freedom of the People!
Cheers for the Victory of the Revolutionary Army!
Cheers for the Kuomintang!
Cheers for the People's Government!

This explains the amazing military success of the Nationalist Movement, which has startled the world. In less than a year the Nationalist army was able to eliminate the feudal Militarists such as Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang one after another, and by the end of the year 1928 the new national flag of the "White Sun in the Blue Sky" was hoisted in Manchuria, which gave the final sign of a united China. However, military success does not necessarily mean Nationalist success. The old feudal Militarists may have been beaten completely, but there is no guarantee that new ones will not come to succeed them. Although the provinces are now being governed by an administrative commission, yet the administration of these provinces is not altogether free from military domination and influence. Already the organization of the Nanking government on September, 1927, as the result of a split, has been accused of being

the work of one military man whose military victories have gained him power and prestige. Already the actions of some of the new Militarists have halted the advancement of the Nationalist cause, and twice practically threatened the existence of the central government. The trouble is that the circumstances of the revolution have always tended to create powerful military leaders upon whose personal loyalty the stability of the new government rests. Hence the real solution of the problem can be sought only through the disbandment of soldiers and the disposal of military leaders. It may be necessary in overthrowing a corrupt government to succeed by force of arms, but the final success cannot rest upon it.

Thanks to the enlightened leadership of the military leaders, the much-talked-about reorganization and disbandment of the Chinese army has become an actual fact. In spite of the deadlock of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Russian threat of a possible war with China at all cost, the various military leaders finally agreed, at a Disbandment Conference recently held in Nanking, to cut down the present army from 1,600,000 to 800,000 men. A military budget was also formulated to determine the division of the country into a

number of garrison areas, and a resolution was passed that no military leader shall concurrently hold the chairmanship of the administrative commission in any province. This conference undoubtedly marks another step toward the real unification of China, but the people must see to it that the decisions reached are actually carried out.

For we cannot consider the task of suppressing militarism to have been successfully concluded unless and until the disbandment of surplus troops and the unity of military control have been achieved, and by unity of military control is meant "that all commanding officers should be appointed, dismissed, promoted, demoted, and transferred by the central government, all troops should be assigned to and distributed at various stations by the central government, and so should their duties and transference be ordered and planned and their pay and supplies be issued, and all matters relative to military education should be under direct control of the central government. As long as there is anyone in the whole of the Nationalist army continuing to appoint and dismiss commanding officers without the sanction of the central government, to act and move independently, to station troops at any place at will and ignore orders of the central government, and to raise

funds locally without the central government's permission, it cannot be said that the unity of military control has been attained." It is therefore of utmost importance that the people as a whole should make a united effort to help expedite the actual disbandment of surplus troops and the effective unification of military control, otherwise it will be waste of time to speak of reconstruction and reconstructive measures. It is not unreasonable to expect that once the unity of military control is achieved, civil and financial officials in the provinces will not have the courage to defy the orders of the central government.

The military stage of the revolution, we are told, is now at an end. The work that remains to be done is an actual application of Doctor Sun's "Three Principles" for the people. Now is the time to demand that military officials subordinate themselves to civil authorities and that a sound unified taxation system be introduced to relieve the people from unnecessary burden and to eliminate sources of official graft. The present period, we are again told, is a period of reconstruction. During this period the national government should seek to improve the living conditions of the masses of the people and not stop at the suppression of the communists alone. So far as reconstruction is concerned, it might

be said that the real task of the Nationalist leaders has only just begun. As to what reconstructive measures should be most emphasized, so much has been written in current literature that we do not need to state them here. The one thing we would urge, however, is that, above all, there must be the elimination of egotism from the hearts of all leaders. After all, the burning need of China to-day is the spirit of sacrifice. Personal gain and personal honor must be subordinated or surrendered. When this is done there will be no fear of militarism or imperialism. A China built on a foundation of the truth and love of her sons and daughters need not to fear anything; otherwise what good will it do even if all Militarists are killed and imperialists expelled? If the government carries out what it proposed to do, as shown in the following manifesto, issued on September 24, of last year, we may earnestly hope for the realization of the true ideals of the "Three Principles." The manifesto reads:

"Now that the treasonable plan of the communists has been totally unearthed, and the Kuomintang once more united under the unanimous policy of anti-communism, we, the members of the government Council, appointed and authorized by the Central Com-

mittee of the Party, have hereby organized the united national government, having already taken our oath of office on the 20th of this month at the capital. To be intrusted with this grave mission at this time of national danger we are more than ever apprehensive of our incapacity. We nevertheless venture to outline the following policies, which will guide our faithful and earnest endeavor in conducting this government:

"1. To continue the Northern Punitive Expedition to uproot militarism and to achieve unification has been for long the wish of the revolutionary forces. More recently still, Yeh Ting and Ho Lung were leading their rebellious hordes in a desperate dash to border territories, while communists all over the land were watching with vigilance for an opportunity to rise. This government hereby pledges itself under oath to strive to the utmost of its resources and ability to exterminate the communist party, in order that our people may be made permanently safe from the terror of a Bolshevik regime, and the unity of our revolutionary forces may be preserved unimpaired.

"2. To reconstruct the revolutionary program and to maintain strict revolutionary discipline so as to protect the rights of the people and to guarantee peace and order in

society and security of the people's livelihood. The poisonous scheme of the communists is to take advantage of the simple-minded peasants and the ignorant riffraff, teaching them methods of destruction and intrigue and then luring them on with promises of easy and comfortable living, sending them finally to be slaughtered—in short, using them as objects of experiment for their party. Thus, wherever communism runs rampant, it strips the people of that locality of their security of life and property, their freedom of speech and religion, robbing them even of their very existence. This government declares itself bound to suppress all such perfidious activities in order to maintain revolutionary discipline and to secure peace and safety for the people. At the same time the agricultural and industrial groups will receive the educational training of the revolution under the auspices of this government, that they may understand the true meaning of the 'Three People's Principles' and support the party in its struggle to bring the revolution to a successful conclusion. It is only by this course that the 'Three People's Principles' can be carried out in accordance with the prescribed program in practice; bringing about ultimately the cherished 'millennium of Ta-Tong.'

"3. To carry out the reconstruction plans as

outlined by our late leader in his 'Chien Kuo Fong Lieh,' and 'Chien Kuo Ta Kang,' and the 'Ming Seng' Principle, the most important features of which are the equitable distribution of land, the regulation of capital, and the creation of a national reserve for the purpose of promoting various industries beneficial to the people. All these plans are the antithesis of the confiscatory policy of the Chinese communist party; and between them, therefore, there is no room for compromise. This government shall hereafter follow the plans laid down by our late leader, and, in relation to the condition of the time, carry out his ideas step by step, that the problem of the people's livelihood, during the stage of political tutelage, may be adequately and properly solved.

"4. To correct ourselves of all the chronic corrupt practices of the Militarists and the mandarinate; and to establish a model government born of the Nationalist revolution. Much of the maladministration heretofore can be traced to the avarice of our officials. Bribery has been rife, and nepotism has been the order of the day. With Militarists and mandarins co-operating with the usurping gentries, the servitors of imperialism and the denationalized compradores, on a grand scheme of bleeding the people, the rapid depletion of national resources and general pov-

erty among the people naturally ensued. This deplorable condition served as a further impetus to the Militarists and mandarins in their wantonness. They adopted more cruel and oppressive measures, that they might maintain themselves in indolence and supineness. Because of this, healthy and clean administration and all reconstructive efforts were naturally foredoomed, whereas, the purpose of this government is precisely to set up such reforms. We, therefore, hereby pledge ourselves to establish a clean and efficient administration in contradistinction to its counterpart in the North, that we may face our people without disgrace.

"The policies thus briefly outlined, this government pledges itself faithfully to carry out in turn to the best of its ability and resource and within the shortest period. The other details of administration shall be executed in conformity with the political policy of the Kuomintang and in accordance with the wish of the people, with such care and vigilance as not to fail in the trust placed upon it by the Central Special Committee.

"This government solemnly hereby promulgates this manifesto and requests the spirit of our late leader and other revolutionary martyrs and the four hundred millions of the Chinese people to be witness thereof."

CHAPTER IX

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

More significant than the political changes which are taking place in China is the social revolution which attacks the old society from the bottom. Laborers and peasants, men and women students, are finding a new interest in life in the ideas of equal human relationships and the sense of social responsibility. They are demanding a more efficient life and a greater diversity of opportunities for improvement and happiness. They have no predilections in favor of an institution because it is Chinese or because it is Western, but are out to fight against customs and traditions that have oppressed them. They do wild things on occasions. However, there can be little question but that the social revolution, which affects not only the relationship between employer and employee, but which is slowly and steadily upsetting the old order of things, will create a new social system in its place.

With the progressive opening up of the country to foreign trade during the last ninety years, and the slow but important improvement made in the means of communication

and transportation, modern machine industry has been gradually introduced in China. This, on the one hand, increases the material prosperity of the people and, on the other, produces social changes of a far-reaching character. Industrialization is inevitable. The same industrial situation which existed in England before the passing of the Factory Acts exists in China to-day. The country is confronted with the same problems which have been faced by more advanced nations in their early stages of industrial development. For example: The flow of population from the country, with its simple life and accepted social standards, to the more complex life of the larger cities, the concentration of workers in congested factory districts, where they are generally miserably housed; the employment of women, involving their absence from home, thus tending to break down the solid family system, and making necessary the development of an entirely new set of standards; child labor in factories, undermining their healthful development and lowering the wages of adults; unhygienic conditions of work and lack of adequate safeguards in dangerous processes, harmful to the health of workers; the large number of workers employed together and the strict division of labor, tending to make men and women to work

mechanically without the incentive of seeing their own individual achievement; an ever-increasing separation between employer and employee, making fellowship and co-operation difficult if not impossible, are problems which have not been altogether successfully dealt with elsewhere. The problem here, however, is complicated by the presence of many foreign-owned factories operating in the "foreign settlements" under special treaty privileges.

Although China has the experience of the West to build up on, the modern factory system seems to have started with all of the traditional mistakes. On the whole, very little attention is paid to the health of the workers and practically no safety devices for machinery are used. In the absence of legislation and inspection, employers as a rule do not bother themselves with the welfare of the employees. With the exception of a few factories owned by enlightened philanthropists, the working conditions are harmful to the bodily and mental welfare of the workers. There has been a great deal of unrest and dissatisfaction, but because of the civil wars and lack of governmental control the workers have been left to themselves, to individual bargaining and individual conditions. The employers have continued to prosper. Many

Chinese and foreign factory owners made profits of over one hundred per cent per year during and after the Great War. The Maritime Customs Trade Report, for a certain factory in 1920, is typical: "The following is the wage bill per day: skilled labor, foremen, thirty-five cents to sixty cents; ordinary labor, men, thirty cents to fifty cents; women, twenty cents to thirty cents; boys aged about fifteen, twenty cents to thirty cents; girls, aged about fifteen, ten cents to twenty cents; small boys, aged about ten years, ten cents to twenty cents; small girls, aged about ten years, seven cents to ten cents. The working hours are from 5:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M., and from 5:30 P. M. to 5:30 A. M., respectively. No meals are supplied by the factory. Most of the cotton used is produced locally and the factory is able to turn about seven thousand piculs monthly of coarse yarn. It will be seen that the company is in an exceptionally favorable position. With the raw product at their doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap supply of labor to draw on, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that their annual profits should have exceeded their total capital on at least three occasions." This is from the official trade report.

It is a recognized fact that the working con-

ditions in modern factories in China are far from satisfactory. Generally speaking, the working hours, from dawn till twilight, or from twilight till dawn, are not within the physical capacity of human beings. Moreover, the majority of the factories do not give holidays, excepting the New Year. The worst effect of it all is the stunting of the children, who should be in their homes or at school. While the cost of living has rapidly increased in recent years, the advance in wages has been considerably slower. "All my investigations," said an experienced student, "lead me to the conclusion that the minimum upon which a human being can exist in Shanghai is forty cents (big money) a day. Whenever wages are below that, the individual is on a starvation basis. A large part of Shanghai is therefore on a starvation basis." While it is true that wages paid to workers vary considerably in different parts of the country, it is also true that, taking conditions as a whole, the wages paid in Shanghai are higher than in other cities. What is true of the labor situation in Shanghai must be more so in other cities. Apparently, the workers in China do not get enough for the long hours of labor they spend. They feel that they are at the mercy of their employers, and this always constitutes a cause for agitation.

Chinese workers have been regarded in the past as among the most peaceful, patient, and contented in the world. Without protection from the state, labor was naturally exposed to exploitation by employers, and in case of trouble, the government has invariably taken sides with the capitalists. However, the gathering of large numbers of workers in the modern factories has created a kind of class consciousness which impels them to collective effort. In consequence, the workers have gradually changed their temper and have begun to realize that if they are to better their working and living conditions, it behooves them to unite and organize. Hence the emerging of the Labor Movement.

Ever since the outbreak of the Student Movement in 1919, labor strikes in Shanghai and other industrial cities have begun to take shape. Unorganized and ignorant as the workers were, the students felt it their duty to emancipate labor and uplift the workingmen. During the early stage of the movement the activities of the labor unions were largely under the initiation and leadership of the students, perhaps with little understanding on the part of the workers. Yet if we study the results of labor strikes, we will find that no matter what the motivation of a particular strike might be, it was always the

workers who were benefited. There has been a good deal of antipathy among the employers toward the students, blaming them as trouble-makers in the industrial field, so much so that the mere appearance of students arouses the suspicion that something is behind the scene. However, to socially minded persons, this sympathy for the workers on the part of students should be considered as one of the finest manifestations of the inherent nobility of the human heart rather than to brand it with that convenient term "Bolshevik."

It is true that strikes and labor unions have been more frequent since the student uprising of May 4, 1919, but the strongest of all factors which made for the increase in strikes and the growth of labor unions is undoubtedly the plight of the laborers. "The seeds of the strikes," writes a student in protest, "have been sowed uninterruptedly during the past twenty years both from within and from without. Had they occurred before Bolshevism was born, foreign capitalists might have invented another 'ism' to describe their cause. Labor strikes are common occurrences now, as, for examples, the bankers' employees strike in France, wharf-men in Australia, dockyard workers' in Europe, coal miners' in America, and wool workers' in England. Why do we not attribute these to Bolshevism or

anti-foreignism? If the workmen were as docile as before, yet facing a rising cost of living, how could they get increased pay without going on strike? They are not so very different from what they used to be, except in so far as they have awakened intellectually and are pressed economically. We bear in silence the news of certain foreign firms selling millions of dollars' worth of ammunition to war lords for destructive purposes, of corrupted officials, of *tuchuns* mercilessly robbing millions from the innocent, of scores of ex-politicians depositing millions in foreign banks for their own profit, never thinking of utilizing their wealth to develop the domestic industries. Then why should we be so panicky about the poor low-paid workmen who are fighting for an increase of five cents a day, and why should we brand it 'Bolshevik'?"

"The public in China," writes an American, "seems on the whole to think of strikes in terms of politics, so that the striker does not have the public interest and sympathy which similar workers find at home. For instance, if thousands of women are thrown out of work in England or America because of a strike or a lockout, the public becomes interested, the government and church, the press and societies of women intervene to bring about a speedy settlement. Nothing of the sort hap-

pens here, except that the Students' Unions come into it, and always from their specialized standpoint. The public regards the workers as the dupes of Bolsheviki agents and almost all accounts of strikes refer to notorious agitators. As the Chinese government does nothing to protect labor, the worker is left absolutely on his own, except in the few instances where the Fords and Leverhulmes of Shanghai help their own laborers over the hard places. To the laborer, the Shanghai public, Chinese and foreign, presents the following types of individuals:

"1. The man who utilizes the Bolshevik scare to impede the improvement of conditions.

"2. The man, good-natured enough in the old days, but who has become resentful of labor's demands, regarding, in fact, the laborers as ingrates for making the demands.

"3. The man who really believes that all labor has come under communist influence and therefore will do nothing to better the workers' condition."

The Chinese workers, however, have gradually come to realize the superiority of collective bargaining and organized opposition to economic exploitation. Formerly they accepted whatever was given them; now they demand what they think is their due. The

strikes may spell sorrow to some and joy to others, but it is the inevitable result of the general awakening and group consciousness of the long-subdued, low-paid, and underfed human machines. It is true that the workers sometimes go too far; it is equally true that they must be justly treated if society is to insure social stability and progress. When the capitalists have sowed the wind, they will surely reap the whirlwind. But it is generally admitted that if workers are organized under proper guidance and intelligent leadership, it will tend to increase efficiency and help harmonize the relations between the employer and employees.

Although conflict between labor and capital has not developed in as acute a form as in the West, communistic thinking has found a response in the hearts of many, because it champions the cause of the poor and oppressed. The ignorance and poverty of the laborers offered in many places a fertile soil for Soviet agents in which to sow the seed of discord and hatred. The appeal of communism to the mind of the masses in many parts of China has proved to be very strong. Although of late there has been a widespread reaction against communism in the country, there yet remains a fundamental longing for deliverance from social oppression. Unless

and until the causes for labor discontent and agitation are removed, the capitalists will ever be faced with difficulties in dealing with the labor elements.

The Labor Movement in a real sense does not exist, for, as a matter of fact, the movement is not purely a movement of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers. As has already been hinted, it has been more or less headed by leaders other than laborers, hence it has been criticized as being used as a tool for ulterior and political purposes. As a movement it is of very recent origin. It came to existence first in the South, and then in the North, but with the advance of the Nationalist Movement, sweeping over the whole country, from south to north and from east to west, labor unions have sprung up like mushrooms. To-day the movement claims almost a thousand unions throughout the country, with a membership of probably three quarters of a million.

It was on May 1, 1923, that China, for the first time, observed Labor Day. This was in Canton, under the auspices of the Oversea Workers' Union, the Mechanical Workers' Union, and the Socialists' Federation. The cause of labor, its emancipation and amelioration, were seriously discussed by prominent writers in special publications, including a

special labor issue by the Chinese Workers' Journal and a special labor issue of La Jeunesse. But as early as 1912 there had been established a Labor Department within the Kuomintang, whose function was the carrying on of labor activities. Soon these activities had to be stopped, because leaders of this party were under the ban of the government. In 1916 the National Federation of Laborers and Farmers was formed in Shanghai, at the initiation of one of the political refugees from Moscow, for the purpose of advocating co-operation between the two laboring classes. This Federation was soon suppressed by the government. It was not until the spring of 1919, when a strike occurred in the Sino-Japanese mills in Shanghai, that labor activities revived in the open. These received added strength by the joining of the unionists from Hunan, who had to flee to Shanghai because of their unsuccessful strike at Changsha. In the meantime the movement received great impetus through the success of the seamen's strike in Hongkong. In addition to gaining recognition of the union, the Hongkong strikers received an increase in wages of twenty to forty per cent, and went back to their jobs with substantial gains. An agreement was also reached between the Seamen's Union and the shipping

company, which stated: "The shipping companies may not dismiss their men without first notifying the Seamen's Union. Any agreement arrived at shall be signed by duly accredited representatives of the Seamen's Union." It is difficult to tell how much of an impetus was given to the laborers of Shanghai by the success of the Hongkong strike, but the fact of their encouragement is shown by the organization of a Shanghai branch, together with a sudden subsequent growth of their labor unions.

In spite of suppression and the general upheaval, the attempt to unionize labor has had a continuous growth. Many unions have sprung up even in Peking, Tientsin, and Mukden, where the hostile Militarists were in control. At a recent date the General Labor Union of Shanghai had about 120 unions, with a membership of about 200,000 men. And in Canton, the mother city of the movement, there were about 180 unions, claiming a membership of 290,620. In a general way, the unionization movement is spreading to important commercial and industrial centers, and is particularly strong on highway transportation, steam navigation, postal service, telephone and telegraph, and the textile industries. Whether the unions are well organized or not, the workers in China have

gradually become articulate and have come to realize that their strength lies in their numbers, and collective bargaining.

Roughly speaking, there are two types of labor organizations in China to-day: (1) the unions and (2) federations. The unions are further classified as (*a*) craft, (*b*) industrial, and (*c*) labor unions. The craft union takes in as members workers of the same trade, while qualification for membership in the industrial union is on the basis of the same industry. The labor union, however, takes in all workers who apply for membership, regardless of trade, industry, or skill. These unions together form federations, which in turn are headed up in a central organization known as the "General Labor Union of China." The formation of these unions has taken place largely during the recent years. The rapid development of the Trade Union Movement is due to the general spirit of revolt, the Nationalist Movement, and the sympathy shown by labor in Western lands.

The Trade Union Movement of a really national character dates back to the year 1922, when the first National Labor Congress was held in Canton on May 1-6. At this congress the delegates from 200 unions, representing about 400,000 workers, discussed the principle of organizing trade unions on an industrial

rather than a craft basis, and passed a resolution calling for abstention from political activity and persistent effort toward the economic betterment of the workers. The second and third National Labor Congresses were also convened at Canton. The second was held May 1-7, 1925, the third on May 1-12, 1926. Both were attended by large delegations from all over the country. The salient feature of the second Congress in 1925 was the creation of a General Labor Union for all China with the following aims: (1) To promote labor organizations, (2) to direct and unify the labor movement, (3) to promote friendship and education among the workers, (4) to formulate common aims and policies, (5) to arbitrate in labor disputes, especially between unions, and (6) to establish relations with international labor organizations. In 1927 the fourth Congress of its kind was held, but this time in Hankow instead of Canton. The 1927 Congress differed from the previous ones in that it devoted itself to the particular business of legislation on the following subjects: Regulations governing the working hours, wages, treatment, settlement of disputes, relief and pensions, etc. A study of these conventions will reveal the fact that the workers in China have come to national consciousness and are determined to better their

lot as a whole, which constitutes no doubt one of the most interesting social phenomena in historical movements.

Reference may also be made to the proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference which met at Hankow, June 23, 1927. It was attended by Russians, British, American, Japanese, French, Korean, Javanese, and Chinese representatives. Although it was of an international character, it had great bearing on Chinese labor, thought, and activities. The following is the economic program of the conference:

1. In all the colonial and semi-colonial countries we witness an unlimited exploitation of labor. The working day is as long as sixteen to eighteen hours, the workers slave away the whole year round without holiday or vacation, the wages received by the workers do not secure for them the barest existence, there exists no labor legislation whatever to protect them; in many of these countries corporal punishment is still practiced, etc.

2. Women and children are subjected to extremely inhuman exploitation. Their wages are considerably lower than those of the male workers; they often receive less than one dollar a month for the very same work performed by men. They work as long as the men, but

because of their physical weakness and defenseless state they are very often subjected to insults and corporal punishment. In China, Indonesia, India, Korea, Indo-China, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean the very same conditions exist as prevailed in the early period of primary capitalist accumulation. At the same time this cruel and brutal exploitation is intensified by a highly developed system of racial oppression on the part of the imperialist powers.

3. National capitalism, which is developing in all the colonial countries, takes advantage of the system of exploitation introduced by the imperialists and cloaks the slavery with patriarchal and nationalistic phraseology.

The imperialists and national bourgeoisie have formed a strongly united front against the most elementary economic demands of the workers: by force and cunning they prevent the raising of the living standards of the toiling masses.

4. This condition, by which the slave labor power is used to an even greater extent because of the phenomenal profit it brings, causes one section of the working class to be turned and used against another section of the working class. The bourgeoisie, in investing capital in colonial industries and in building factories and shops, not only pursue the

aim of reaping high profits, but also that of lowering the living and working standards of the workers in capitalistic countries. This they achieve by exploiting the cheap labor of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

5. This difference in living and working conditions puts the greatest obstacles in the way of creating a united front of all the workers of the different races and nationalities of the Pacific. These obstacles and difficulties are increased and complicated by the bourgeoisie's idealogical influence over the masses, which encourages racial hatred and prejudices in respect to the colored races, which are considered "inferior." These artificially created prejudices are intended by the imperialists and capitalists to render impossible an understanding and agreement between the exploited of all races against their exploiters.

In order to put an end to such a state of affairs and to do away with restrictive legislation directed against colored labor, and in order to deprive the imperialists-bourgeoisie of their most important weapon, which is to lower the living standard of the working class, and in order to liberate the toiling masses in the colonial countries from mediæval slavery, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference hereby decides to organize and carry on a determined struggle in all colonial and semi-

colonial countries for the following ten demands:

1. The introduction of the eight-hour day.
2. The introduction of a regular continuous forty-two-hour week with weekly rest for all workers.
3. The introduction of social insurance in case of illness, accident, incapacitation, and unemployment; the whole burden of social insurance to be borne by the employers and the government.
4. The prohibition of night work for women; eight weeks of paid vacation, four weeks before and four weeks after confinement.
5. Absolute prohibition of the sale and purchase of children for purposes of exploitation: prohibition of labor for all persons under fourteen years.
6. Equal wages for equal work.
7. Freedom of organization; freedom of assembly and freedom of press; freedom to organize and carry on strikes.
8. Introduction of a labor inspection whose organs are to be elected by the trades union.
9. Abolition of corporal punishment, fines, the practice of docking wages with products from the factory stores.
10. To organize labor pickets for the struggle against fascism and blacklegging.

Such is the tone of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, and as such it will surely give an added strength to the demands of the laborer. It is now time to turn to the union activities. Generally speaking, strikes are of an economic nature, either demanding higher wages and shorter hours or better treatment. But the strikes which have been called since May 30, 1925, have not been altogether free from politics. The workers have taken an active part in patriotic demonstrations, and they have allied themselves with the campaigns against imperialists and Militarists. The incident of May 30, 1925, has really opened a new chapter in the history of the Labor Movement. It may be considered as a symbol which demonstrated what labor can do in the face of national insult, and it drove the whole nation to the support of the proletariat. The strike in May, 1925, was purely a protest against international injustice and was clearly directed against British and Japanese mills.

Labor strikes under the Nationalist government are legal, according to regulations relative to labor disputes promulgated by the Kuomintang on January 5, 1926. Steps are being taken by the government to prevent them, however, and to settle industrial disputes by peaceful methods. Committees on

conciliation and arbitration have already been installed in Hankow, Canton, Foochow, Shanghai, and other important industrial centers. These committees are generally made up of representatives from the Kuomintang, the government department, the labor unions, the Chamber of Commerce, or other industrial and commercial bodies. The aims of these committees, as stated in their constitution, are: To promote and advance all benefits for the workers, to enhance their productive capacity, to arbitrate in all disputes between labor and capital, to foster closer relation between industry and commerce, and generally to add to the well-being of the society.

It is noteworthy that many strikes have been carried on in good order and in a peaceful manner. The workers have purposely refrained from violence in order not to bring on social chaos. This is commendable, as most of the unions are ill organized and ill directed, and as there is a large proportion of illiterates among the workers, which increases the chance of radical action. The workers have stood calmly but firmly. They have shown an admirable spirit of co-operation and perseverance in the face of the hardship, privation, and misery of unemployment. It is regrettable to relate, however, that not a few of the strikes have been manipulated by

communistic elements, which in the name of labor unions have used the situation to further their ulterior motives. The outbreak of strikes may or may not have had anything to do with the communists, but in very few instances have they failed to make good use of the situation to sow the seed of discord and hatred among the rank and file of labor.

The Labor Movement has come to stay, although it is imperfect in many ways. In China it is in a state of flux, like everything else. Because of radical elements the trade unions are in the process of reorganization by order of the government. Their future largely depends upon the attitude of the government in power. There is a split among the workers between the "Right" and the "Left" wings, which has undoubtedly marred the progress of the movement. The movement is led mainly by men of the intellectual class who have not had the necessary knowledge and experience in organizing labor unions and adjusting disputes. The large percentage of illiteracy among the workers offers opportunity for exploitation and manipulation by politicians and invariably results in a weakened and disunited movement. On the other hand, in spite of all these handicaps, the Labor Movement in China has achieved much in refusing the heavy taxes imposed by the mediæ-

val Militarists, and in preparing the way for the advance of the Nationalist Movement. Most important of all is the betterment of their own lot through persistent effort and united action. They have succeeded in creating a public conscience toward labor, and the public at large is becoming aware of their grievances. The unions have been gradually successful in their efforts for higher wages, shorter hours, and more humane treatment. In many respects the Labor Movement is influencing and is being influenced by such constructive social forces as mass education, organized social work, and the Citizenship Training Movement. When the government becomes stabilized and a state of normalcy is resumed, one may expect more constructive work for or by the movement along educational lines.

CHAPTER X

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

CHINA is essentially a land of small farmers. It is conservatively estimated that out of a population of four hundred millions eighty to eighty-five per cent live in the villages. China's rural population forms not only the overwhelming majority, but is the social group that is of fundamental importance in the economic and political life of the nation. "It is they who keep the people fed, and clothed, and sheltered. It is they who are both the foundation and superstructure on which and within which the nation abides. It is they who more than any other class are illiterate and superstitious. It is they who toil hard but receive little. Indeed, they are the deep waters over which the waves of droughts, floods, famines, pestilences, wars, bandits, depraved gentry, and dishonest officialdom roll."

Politically speaking, in no nation has the position of the peasant been greater than that of the Chinese. In the past almost all changes of dynasty and overthrow of the ruling class depended more or less on the attitude of the peasants. No ruling class could remain long

in control when opposed by the peasants, and although poorly organized and ill disciplined, the peasants have proved many a time too strong for any army to defeat. In almost any and every rebellion against tyrants the rebellious leaders sought the aid of the peasants, as they represented the largest numerical strength and the most powerful weapon of the nation. Many of the rulers have come from the farm. Chen Shen, Wu Kwan, Gi Pu, Liu Pan, Liu Yu, Chu Yuan Chang rose from the farm and owed their success to the aid of the peasants. This shows that the Peasant Movement in China, loosely speaking, did not begin with modern times. It made sporadic appearances and due contributions in history, but ended in failure because of political manipulations. In almost every instance it was made a tool to cause the downfall of a tyrant, only to result in the creation of a new one.

Even in modern times secret societies, such as the Boxers, the Red Spears, the Great Swords, the Little Swords, etc., which have been rapidly increasing in various parts of China, are more or less Peasant Movements. While most of these societies do not confine their membership to peasants, their purposes have been invariably for self-protection and self-preservation. They have organized either

to defend themselves from bandits, to refuse payment of unreasonable taxes demanded by the Militarists, or to repel immigrants from hostile neighboring territories. Not infrequently they themselves have become predatory and turned into bandits.

The Peasant Movement that was organized with a concrete program had its birth in the province of Kwantung some eight years ago when farmers' associations were started in several Eastern districts. These associations were poorly organized. Their only objective was the reduction of rents. Naturally, this desire of the peasants clashed with the interests of the landholders, causing the interference of the local authorities. As a result, most of these associations were dissolved and the movement was suspended. But it was revived with greater vigor in 1923, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen came back to power. Realizing the failure of past revolutions from the top, which touch too small a class, Doctor Sun made up his mind to enlist the support of the peasants, about three quarters of the Chinese population, and he turned his attention to an agrarian program for the improvement of the peasants. Hence one of the planks in the platform of the Kuomintang is their championship of the interests of the peasants. One of the resolutions passed at the Second Rep-

resentative Conference of the Kuomintang, reads as follows:

"China is still in the period of agricultural economy; its agricultural product occupies ninety per cent of the whole country's production, and its population is eighty per cent agricultural. Hence China's revolution should be an agricultural revolution. For the purpose of strengthening the basis of our revolution we have to emancipate the peasant first. Regardless of political movements our foundation should be laid on the rank and file of the peasants. Our policy should aim at the interest of the peasants, our action should also be in accordance with the principle of working for the welfare of the peasants, for if the peasants are once emancipated, that success represents the major victory of the whole Nationalist Movement."

The agrarian program for the improvement of peasant conditions provides:

1. Twenty-five per cent reduction for the rent or lease of land.
2. A uniform land tax, abolition of extra illegal taxes.
3. The collection of land rent in advance is forbidden.
4. Improvement of the irrigation system.
5. Establishment of forest laws. Afforesta-

tion of the barren mountains as quickly as possible.

6. Improvement of village schools.

7. The establishment of agricultural banks in country districts. Loans to be issued to farmers at five per cent per annum.

8. Public lands in the various provinces shall be handed over to these agricultural banks as security.

9. All uncultivated lands shall be considered general government property, which shall be distributed among the poorer farmers on certain conditions.

10. Heavy interest is forbidden. The highest permissible interest on loans to be twenty per cent annually.

11. Organization and development schemes for reclamation of waste lands under the guidance and assistance of the government.

12. Establishment of farmers' co-operative societies with the assistance of the government.

13. The government must take suitable measures for relief of famine and prevent its recurrence.

14. No land taxes or interest may be collected in the famine districts.

15. The formation of a special Government Executive Commission (on which the Central Farmers' Union is to be represented) which

shall prevent exorbitant land rents and illegal taxes. Besides this, the committee shall examine all conditions which cause dissatisfaction among farmers.

16. It is forbidden to make unjust leases, contracts, or mortgages with the farmers.

17. The villages are to elect from their number a council for self-government of the village.

18. The formation of Farmers' Unions is permissible.

19. Farmers' Unions are under the protection of the law.

20. The Farmers' Unions have the privilege of organizing a local militia for self-defense.

21. Any excesses and acts of violence on the part of soldiers to country people shall be punished severely.

22. The system of subleasing is forbidden.

Moreover, the formation of Farmers' Unions was encouraged by the Southern government, of which Doctor Sun was the moving spirit. In an address delivered at a reception to farmers, Doctor Sun said: "The present government is willing to do all it can to help the farmers to organize themselves into a strong and solid body. It is up to the farmers to utilize the government to reach this aim. Then they will be able to recover their posi-

tion in society and look after their own interests." Under such stimulation the Peasant Movement spread like wildfire. In Kwantung, in seven months, the membership grew to six hundred and twenty thousand.

Since the revolution the Farmers' Unions have been multiplied as the army advanced from province to province until it was checked after the beginning of the Communist Purification Movement.

Because of military chaos and political disturbances, together with the success of the Peasant Movement in the province of Kwangtung, the movement found fertile soil and good hearing in the other provinces, but instead of government protection, as enjoyed in the province of Kwangtung, the movement met with much opposition. Opposition from the Militarists, corrupt officials, depraved gentry, greedy landholders and others accounts for the slow development of the Peasant Movement in provinces where the old regime, represented by the Northern war lords, still reigned.

Until recently, when the Farmers' Unions were made inactive by order of the Nationalist government in Nanking on account of communistic elements, the movement had penetrated into seventeen provinces and three special districts. All told, there were not less than

five thousand Farmers' Unions, with a membership of ten million people. Most of these unions, however, were loosely organized and poorly led, so much so that they were bound to meet with disastrous defeats. In the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, where the Farmers' Unions were largely controlled by local rowdies and hooligans, the government has had to suppress them by force. More recently, the Farmers' Union in the province of Kwangtung fell into the hands of the communists, who staged a *coup d'état* for political control of Kwangtung, with the result that thousands of the peasants were relentlessly killed.

The mushroom growth of the Farmers' Union is largely due to the desperate conditions under which the peasants have to labor and live, on the verge of starvation. They work from dawn to dark, from twelve to fifteen hours per day, and yet can hardly live on their labor, not to speak of maintaining families. Some writers attribute the poor lot of the peasants to exploitation by the landholding class, but there are other factors that should be mentioned.

Literacy among the farming population is limited to a very small percentage of the people. The majority of the peasants cannot read or write, much less do they know how to improve the farm. Their method of cultiva-

tion is as old as the ages. In spite of considerable practical knowledge of farming gained through experience of the past generations, the average peasant is grossly ignorant. He has no knowledge of science or scientific methods. The result is that his land becomes poorer year after year, and the law of diminishing return takes full effect.

Closely associated with ignorance is superstition. An ignorant peasant invariably relies upon gods and nature. When his crop is good he gives thanks to the gods, and in times of failure he regards it as a heavenly punishment. In fact, he retains much of the animism of ancient times. His mental state is constantly that of superstitious fears, hence he buys charms and prayers with the desire to offset the dangers that constantly threaten. In general, the illiterate peasants are credulous and can easily be cheated and fooled.

Farms in China are usually in the valleys, and in most cases communication between the villages and the cities is cut off by rivers and mountains. This isolation, due to lack of transport, affects the distribution of farm products.

The pathetic poverty of the peasants cannot be denied. Most of them live from hand to mouth, while many have to go begging when the crops fail. Statistics are not avail-

able, but those who have studied the problem say that a large proportion of the farm population does not earn an income sufficient to maintain life, thus causing a high death rate among the poor. What is worse, the peasants are often victims of money-lenders who loan money with an annual interest as high as forty to fifty per cent. Grain purchasers are the chief money-lenders. Money is generally paid back in the form of grain as soon as the harvest is finished or in kind after the new crop is sold.

The famines caused by flood or by drought necessarily drive peasants to pennilessness, and restlessness, if not to death. Although famines are due to natural causes they can be prevented. There has been an average of one famine every year, and undoubtedly the peasants have suffered the most. Some die of hunger, others migrate to more fortunate regions. Still others content themselves with grass and bark as food.

The land along the banks of the Yangtze River has been so intensively cultivated that the return does not pay for the effort spent, while land in the northwest and along the Yellow River region remains untouched or unclaimed. Again, many of the tillers do not own the land, while many owners of the land do not till. The deplorable thing is that even

though the tenant farmers and employed farmers toil hard, their struggle for mere existence is very bitter, their purchasing power being so small that they cannot enjoy even the lowliest kind of material welfare.

Before the opening of China to foreign trade the people's needs were supplied entirely by natural products. Since the entrance of foreign trade and commerce, however, there has come a keen competition with foreign products in the Chinese market. Moreover, on account of the unequal treaties and lack of tariff autonomy, foreign goods enjoy a special privilege of which the home products are deprived. In the face of this disadvantage, the home products are driven out of the market unless prices are lowered to meet foreign competition.

Selfish gentry, land-grabbers, clan chiefs, greedy officials, etc., all flourish by exploiting the peasants. This exploitation is by way of loaning money at a high rate of interest, meddling in lawsuits, opening of opium dens, or by the use of clan customs to exact money from the peasants.

Ever since the establishment of the Republic there has been almost constant war. The fighting was first between the war lords, and later between war lords and the revolutionists. Each war cost the people from millions

to billions. Nine tenths of this cost falls upon the shoulders of the peasants, as wars have to be financed, and the poor peasants have to bear the brunt of it all. Again, such direct damage as destruction of crops, devastation of fields, commandeering of food supplies and labor, etc., cause the villagers to be in a state of anxiety and fear.

In China the desire to own a farm is just as great as in other lands, if not greater. But when one makes investigation into the actual state of things, he will be disappointed to find that only a very small minority owns more than one thousand mows of land. The majority of peasants in the Southern provinces of China work either as tenants or in contract labor.

The rent is extremely high, which, unfortunately for the tenant, is not paid in money but principally in agricultural products—a custom which means other losses to the peasants. The customary rent is fifty to sixty per cent of the harvest. Now, as the average rented land contains only ten to fifteen mow, seldom more than twenty mow, it will be readily seen that after the renter has delivered half or two thirds of his harvest to the owner of the land, there is not sufficient left for the barest existence. The condition of the independent peasants is not much better. The

average size of their little farms is roughly five to ten mow, at the most fifteen to twenty mow. In prosperous years this is just sufficient for their livelihood. In times of calamity, such as flood or drought or war, the peasant is at the mercy of the village usurer, unless he wishes to see his whole livelihood utterly ruined. Once in the clutches of the usurers, he encounters such difficulties that he is seldom able to free himself.

In general, the Chinese peasants may be classified as "independent farmers," the "half tenants," the "tenants," and the "farm laborers." The independent farmers till their own land, but own not more than one hundred mow. These independent farmers may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who have a surplus every year. (2) Those who earn just enough to maintain a living. (3) Those who have a deficit to face every year.

The half tenants have some land of their own, but also rent land of others for tillage. The life of this class is poorer than that of the self-tillers. They own so little land that the earning power of their labor does not yield them a living, and therefore they have to till the land of others to make up the deficit. Between harvests these peasants have to borrow money at a high rate of interest and buy food at a high price.

The tenants rent land of others to till, and pay rent. They own no land. They sometimes hire other hands to help them. These peasants may be subdivided into two classes: (1) those who possess farm implements and a certain amount of working capital, and (2) those who own nothing and have no working capital.

The farm laborers own no land or farm implements, and have no working capital or credit of any kind to enable them to be tenants. They are merely hirelings, and their services are usually bought at a low price. Their food and lodging are usually supplied by their employers, but they work long hours. These peasants are considered the most miserable class in the village. When they are out of employment they are at the mercy of nature.

Landlords or landholders may also be divided into (1) the resident landlords, and (2) the absentee landlords. The resident landlords in Sutsien County, North Kiangsu, for example, live in mansions surrounded with fortified walls, with their tenants living about them, reminding one in many respects of the manorial system of the mediæval period in Europe. The absentee landlords in Quinsan, Kiangsu, for example, generally take up their residence in Shanghai or some other neigh-

boring town for the purpose of engaging in some business pursuits.

In order to enforce the payment of rent by tenants the landlords in certain sections of the country have organized a "Landlords' Association," which obtains special privileges and has the support of the local magistrates. In case of delinquency on the part of tenants the association can send such delinquents to prison upon its own recommendation. Another way of enforcing rent payment in Kiangsu is the collection of rents by the so-called "Committee on Rent Collections," managed and financed by the landlords, with legal recognition by the magistrate. The power of the committee is almost equivalent to that of a magistrate. It can hold trial of the delinquent tenants and punish them as can a civil court. A still worse system of collecting rents for the absentee landlords is the employing of "Chang-fan," a kind of middle-man, who acts in behalf of the landlords in collecting rent payments and assists him in all his dealings with the tenants. Frequently the "Chang-fan" cheats the tenant by demanding greater payment than is required by the landlord, and, in addition, by forcing the tenant to bribe him to put down a good sum for him in the records.

In the face of these abuses, coupled with

the desperate economic conditions which have beset the peasants in China for centuries, it does not need much agitation to set them in revolt. Driven by nothing less than desperation, the peasants in Honan and Shantung, during the old regime of the Militarists, formed bodies of Red Spears, Black Spears, and Heavenly Doormen, as already indicated. Though crudely formed, these associations proved to be good material, ready for organization into unions.

The Farmers' Unions in the provinces were usually started by graduates from the "Peasant Movement Training School" in Canton, sent out into the various provinces and districts for that specific purpose. At every place they visited they would first make a survey of the village and then address the peasants on the basis of the facts gathered, calling attention to the miserable conditions and telling them how they could better these conditions by forming unions.

There are four conditions for membership, namely: The farmers—

1. Must own less than one hundred mow of land (roughly, less than seventeen acres of land).
2. Must not be farmers whose interests conflict with the peasants.

3. Must not be money-lenders who mortgage farms.

4. Must not be religious teachers, such as priests, pastors, monks, and nuns.

Theoretically speaking, the object of the farmers' unions is:

1. To obtain better conditions for the peasants and small farmers.

2. To improve village organizations, which are now in the hands of the landlords.

3. To raise the social status of the peasants and small farmers.

Practically speaking, the object of the local unions varies with the varying conditions, some emphasizing betterment of living conditions, others rural improvement, still others political action. Usually, the three objects are emphasized *pari passu* in the same union.

Naturally, the suspicion and opposition of the local gentry, landlords, and magistrates were aroused, but on the whole, and by the help of the Kuomintang, which held sway in Kwangtung, the peasants usually succeeded in getting what they asked for. Besides these activities of agitation and campaign, the unions in Kwangtung also did some constructive work of road building, school building, etc. Their special achievement, however, was the service rendered to the Nationalist

army on its northward march toward Peking; acting as guides or spies, supplying food and shelter, digging trenches or transporting army supplies, and in a hundred other ways facilitating the Nationalists and hindering their enemies.

Since the Farmers' Unions have been made inactive by order of the government, pending their purification from communistic influence, they have either been closed or are so thoroughly reorganized that they are no longer independent. Before reorganization the unions were free from interference of any party, but since reorganization they have been brought practically under the direct control of the government.

What the future of the movement will be it is too early to predict. However, it is quite safe to say that once under proper altruistic leadership, the Kuomintang may yet succeed in making the peasants carry out some constructive program for their benefit. As a rule, the Chinese peasants are industrious, thrifty, and sincere, but they are overcredulous, believing everything that is told them, and they can be easily disillusioned. Of late so many of the unions have fallen into the hands of communist intriguers that the authorities have had to suppress their activities for the time being. It is quite evident that

peasants in most regions do not yet understand the significance of the Union Movement, but once appealed to, especially from the standpoint of their miserable conditions, they constitute a mighty influence. Unless the real causes of discontent are removed, an agrarian revolution may yet be staged by the farmers themselves. It will be recalled that the years of 1926 and 1927 witnessed the great uprisings among the farm population of Kwangtung, Kiangsi, and the two Hu provinces (Hunan and Hupeh). For a time, when led by communist leaders, they were like a gigantic wave sweeping over the country with no force to prevent them. Well trained and guided, the peasants can work wonders to increase their own welfare as well as that of the world.

CHAPTER XI

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

One of the vital social changes that has come about in China within the last few decades is the emergence of a vigorous and active Woman's Movement. It is a natural expression in an organized form of the desire of Chinese women for sex equality in family and community life, which women elsewhere in the world have largely won. It is a cry for that independence which has characterized the new spirit of the world. Old traditions are going and old shackles are being thrown off. Indeed, the wave of self-determination, which has been creeping around the world since the Great War, has struck the mental shore of Chinese womanhood with spectacular results.

In contrast with the past, the new woman of China is emerging from the inner chamber where she has been confined for centuries. She is now seen everywhere—in schools, shops, theaters, and even driving motor cars, without running the risk of being ridiculed and chastised. Moreover, educated women are entering into occupations which men used to mo-

nopolize. They are entering the professions, business, and philanthropy. Many are devoting their lives and time to social reform and the propagation of liberal ideas. The most hopeful sign of the movement is that many an educated woman is saying: "We who are educated have, luckily, attained some knowledge. We have a place in society; but let us not be content with this. Let us not be proud and look contemptuously on our less fortunate sisters. Let us not scheme to retain the advantages we have gained and take no thought of those who are yet in bondage. Let us not say that the Woman's Movement is so much empty talk. We must devote ourselves with heart and soul and mind and strength to the task of helping them. Otherwise, those who are free will only talk of freedom and those who are cast down will continue to suffer."

The new woman in China is also appearing in a new form. All shackles of dress and custom are being thrown overboard. She is releasing her feet from bondage and bobbing her hair to economize time. Although in many of the interior places of China it is still disgraceful to have bobbed hair, it is much in vogue in the port cities. Natural feet and bobbed hair are two symbols of the emancipation movement that is affecting profoundly the basis of the Chinese social life. From

time immemorial Chinese women have been subject to foot-binding. It was not until recently, when Christian ideas penetrated into China, that men of learning began to realize its foolishness and cruelty. As a consequence of public disapproval, the practice has begun to disappear.

As to how the social status of woman has come to change, the following statement issued by the Committee for Advancement of Woman's Rights in Honan is of particular interest:

"If we look to the past, we find that in very early days in China women were in a much better position than they are now. Women were then free and not in the least hampered by restrictions. There are many writings that prove this and there is no need to elaborate the point. In later days agriculture was developed, man had his work in the field, and woman was, perforce, tied to the home and its duties. The rules of the home became daily more strict and woman's position fell to a lower level. Man was master in his house and the woman was his chattel. Men made the laws and promulgated social restrictions. A widowed man might remarry but the widowed woman must remain single for life.

"There were the three obediences—as a girl,

the woman obeyed her father; as a wife she obeyed her husband; as a widow she obeyed her son. There were the woman's four graces—good behavior, good speech, good appearance, and good works. There were seven causes for which a woman might be divorced. She alone had to be chaste and was bound under burdensome taboos and a killing weight of ceremonials. All manner of prohibitions, all kinds of oppressions, had to be borne by women without showing the slightest sign of opposition. For some thousands of years an incalculable number of gifted and gentle women have been crushed under the yoke.

"Within the last twenty years some men have been influenced by the new tide of thought that is sweeping the country and have become, in a small measure, sympathetic toward the Woman's Movement and sexual equality. Men and women ought to share equally the burdens and responsibilities of life, for it has been found that the man alone is not able to carry the load. Therefore, woman's learning is encouraged and schools for girls have been established. Women now have opportunities for study and have a modicum of independence. After the Student Movement developed, the demand for women's liberty and equality of rights became daily more insistent, the women's educational move-

ment also received an impetus and her position in society was somewhat better.

"But this Honan of ours is an interior province and unresponsive to popular opinion. The literati, and those men in authority, are still imbued with the age-long prejudice against women having any standing in society, and lord it over us as in the bad old days. The women on their part, only take thought for study and manage their personal affairs and care nothing for such questions as the enfranchisement of their sisters. Those of us who advocate women's rights are like a voice crying to the clouds, and Honan, drugged by old customs, neither listens nor hears.

"But, all right, the new tide has reached even to Honan. We have a place under the banner of the bright sun in a blue sky (the Nationalist flag). We have gained a foothold in the political arena and women's societies and women's clubs are springing up everywhere. A certain amount of propaganda is attempted and women's work for women is not altogether neglected. We honor the pioneers in this movement, but as a great house cannot be built with one beam, and no great work can be accomplished by one person, neither can the great task that has fallen to our lot be successfully carried on by a minority of the female population."

Such is the appeal of women to women in the Honan Province, from which we can get some idea of the present Woman's Movement and its development.

Historically, it may be stated that as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, the whole of China was awakened from reveries of the past. Gradually the thoughtful leaders of the country came to realize that theirs was not the only great nation and began to introduce reforms along various lines. They advocated reform and wanted to see a changed conception of nation and society. In their struggle for social and political reform they have pushed universal education for both men and women. Hence schools for girls were established soon after 1900, first primary schools, then middle schools, and normal schools, and now university education is also offered to girls. Coeducation is becoming a popular thing. Almost all institutions of higher learning now admit women students, and they are entering in considerable numbers.

With this increase of knowledge it is inevitable that the position of women should change. Nor is there wonder that they should seek to be less dependent on men. Unfortunately, not many occupations are open to them, although "Economic Independence" is a watchword on the lips of most enlightened

girls. The women have been somewhat slow to act, although Western contact and mission influence have done much to make them change for the better. This is not due to woman's inherent incapacity for adjustment, but to the dead weight of traditions and customs which have beset her for centuries. Moreover, it seems that men have looked with suspicion and disapproval when women dared to break the bonds of tradition and questioned male supremacy. Nevertheless, a survey of the past twenty years will show that the women of China have taken great strides toward freedom and equality. As early as 1901 there was published in Tokyo, Japan, the first women's magazine, edited by a Chinese woman, advocating women's rights and social revolution. And in 1907 an educated woman, a returned student from Japan, died in Anking as a political martyr. Prior to the overthrow of the Manchu regime, many returned students and highly educated women joined secret political societies and served in many a revolutionary cause. They even organized themselves into military companies and did much in making the revolution of 1911 a success.

With the advent of the Republic in 1912, women suffragettes began to demand equal rights in government, education, and to de-

mand the prohibition of slavery and concubinage. They petitioned the provisional government in Nanking for woman franchise, but met with but little success. However, they succeeded in sending quite a few of their own number to occupy the seats of the Kwangtung Provincial Assembly, and several others in the Municipal Council, though their tenure of office was cut short because of political changes which affected men as well. In the years of 1921 and 1922, women's agitation for equal franchise became more active. This was due to the New Thought Movement which swept over the whole country, demanding freedom and reconstruction. One important aspect of the movement was the emancipation of women. A considerable amount of literature on women has been published calling special attention to women's problems. It was in 1922 that the "Woman's Suffrage Association" and the "Woman's Rights League" were formed in Peking with many branches subsequently established in the provinces. Perhaps reference should also be made to the provincial constitutions of Kwangtung, Hunan, Chekiang, and Szechuen, which actually granted equal franchise to women before the date of the institution of the Nationalist government.

The year of 1927 will undoubtedly go down

in Chinese history as the record year of the Woman's Movement. With the onward march of the Nationalist army, women took their places side by side with men in propaganda, Red Cross work, and even in army battalions. It has been reported that in those days bobbed-haired girls were seen on the streets of Wu-han bustling around in men's trim uniforms, presenting a unique sight, in much the same way as American women in the uniform of auxiliary services went about during the World War. It has also been reported that some of these women were actually sent to the front lines and proved that they knew how to use their guns, and that these same women were used in the intelligence or spy work which proved so instrumental in breaking down the morale of the troops in the Northern armies.

From an authorized statement to the press in Hankow, Madame Sun Yat-sen is quoted as follows: "During the first fortnight I was in Hankow delegation after delegation of women came to me asking how they could help the work of the Kuomintang and help their sisters in developing a new womanhood of China that should be cognizant of the new temper of the times, politically conscious and free. They were eager, but unprepared, so I decided to establish a school of politics for

them, that they may be useful in the field of women's participation in the revolution."

In another connection Madame Sun stressed the point that, unless the two hundred million female population of China joined in the struggle for freedom, the national revolution could not be complete. Nor can there be true freedom in the world while women are oppressed. "Women must participate in the national revolution for two reasons," Madame Sun stated. "First, to work together with the men of China for an independent nation, and, second, to work for their own freedom. . . . Women must fight not only against male oppression but against female oppression also. It is incongruous for us to be fighting against oppression from men and at the same time oppress other members of our own sex. As long as there are slave girls in China, women must join together to work for their emancipation. And as long as the working women are oppressed, the fight for women's freedom must be carried on. These oppressions grind down the women of China just as much as do the injustices that are women's lot because they find themselves to-day in a man-made world."

Such is the spirit of the new women in China to-day. They ask for equal rights, and they share responsibilities as well. In other

words, they are not content merely to be good mothers and wives, but they are good citizens and administrators likewise. There are women bankers and lawyers and dentists and judges, as well as educationists and philanthropists. They have played their rôle well and their contribution cannot be forgotten. Attention should be called, however, to the sympathetic support which the Kuomintang has been able to give. The leaders of that party generally believe that no nation can expect to rise above the level of its womanhood. Hence, in the provinces where the Nationalists have held sway, many women's unions have sprung up. Their cry has been to unite women of all walks of life in order to centralize their strength for the thorough emancipation of woman and to participate in the revolution of the people for China's true freedom and democracy.

The following poster on the city wall of Wuchang, Hupeh, reflects the hope and faith of the women in that province:

"We women of Hupeh for several thousand years have suffered under political, economic, and legal oppression. Propriety, traditions, and all sorts of social conventions and customs have bound us. Long ago we lost our rights as humans. From whom has this suf-

fering come? It was because we ourselves didn't apply ourselves, we didn't know how to unite and strive, and fight for our rights as humans. At the same time the sphere of darkness meant oppression for us, like a deep root that couldn't be budged. So for several thousand years we were mere things, useless things in society.

"Now that the revolution has extended to Hupeh, and the national government committees have come, we want to welcome them, because they are the people's officials, because they have given the people freedom from suffering, and because they seek the people's good. Our suffering was so very deep that we have limitless hope in these officials; we believe that they will give us economic and political equality with the men, that they will revise the unequal laws, and that they will do away with all laws that harm or hinder women, and will protect the rights of women; that they will rid us of the terrible bondage of traditions and customs, and all the bad things that have bound women. We especially believe that, following the plans of the Kuomintang, this government can help women to have utter equality, economically, politically, and legally with the men.

"Fellow women of Hupeh! This is our chance to seek freedom and equality. A thou-

sand times over we don't want to lose this opportunity. In the midst of this political freedom we want to spread our organization. We want to foster our ability so that we can stand under our banner of the Woman's Movement. We want to unite our various groups and to watch the officials give women their political benefits, so that the good for which we strive can be enjoyed by others."

The first organized expression of the Woman's Movement was the Woman's Association of the Kuomintang, organized in 1925. It began as a series of progressive women's clubs in Peking and other cities of Northern China. Because it had a political as well as a social program, it was necessary for the women leaders to work secretly, sometimes from prison cells in the territory of Northern Militarists. The leaders were for the most part women of the educated classes, graduates of American colleges, and those who had come in contact with Western countries. Later on a woman's department was established within the Kuomintang for promotion of women's unions. A propaganda school was maintained in Canton which offered a three months' course of training for women students. When these completed their training they were appointed special delegates and were sent out to the various provinces and districts, often

accompanying the Nationalist army from place to place.

The following petition was presented to the Kwantung Provincial Assembly by the Woman's Association of that province:

1. To amend the laws so as to put women on the same footing as men.

2. To institute labor regulations for protection of working women. Women and men workers should have equal pay and equal treatment. Four weeks' holiday with pay should be given to women workers before and after childbirth.

3. To prohibit the taking of concubines by men.

4. Women should have full liberty as regards marriage and choosing their husbands.

5. Daughters and sons should share equally their fathers' inheritance, and wives should be entitled to receive a share of their husbands' property.

6. To organize a children's home and nursery for children of working women.

7. To establish a peasant women's educational institution, and introduce mass education for peasant women.

8. To notify all governmental organizations to employ more women on their staff, so as to enable women to become independent.

9. Equal rights for women and men in so-

ciety as regards law, politics, economics, and education.

10. To abolish prostitution, and devise means to train such women for occupations that will enable them to earn their own living.

The liveliest activities were shown by women of the two Hu provinces (Hunan and Hupeh) after the Nationalist regime had been firmly established there. It was an ordinary thing to see women with natural feet and women with bound feet parading along the streets, shouting for emancipation and reconstruction. They were often seen in the labor unions doing their share, serving as pickets in time of strike and performing such other duties as men do in time of peace. As a result of their organized protest and agitation they have succeeded in cutting down the working day from eighteen to twelve hours a day and raising wages from sixteen to forty coppers a day.

In Hankow, the alleged seat of radicalism, during the 1926-1927 period, the Women's Union at one time became so powerful that it held divorce hearings on its own authority and granted divorces without a court trial, but this has been discontinued. When a union member had a case of complaint against her husband, she presented it before the union for settlement. Generally the leaders of the

Women's Union would persuade the defendant husband to be more considerate and kind in treatment; failing that, the union would assist the complainant to secure a divorce in the court. This action on the part of the Women's Union in settlement of marriage disputes naturally aroused strong protests and provoked a storm of opposition from the men, especially laborers and peasants who depended upon their wives for house management and care of the children. It was reported that a men's club had been organized to oppose women's oppression, but this has not been substantiated.

In advocating wider freedom and greater equality for women, the Woman's Movement has yet some distance to travel. Still, it is interesting to note the following regulations regarding the rights of women as adopted by the Hankow Women's Union:

Art. 1. With reference to divorce, the decision of the court should be based upon the following points:

1. If a wife seeks a divorce, and the husband is unwilling to break the marriage contract, she may, if she has proper grounds, secure a decree, and remarry in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Second National Delegates' Conference. She may ask

the local court to base its decision on this principle.

2. If a husband seeks to divorce a wife who cannot support herself, the man must continue to support his divorced wife until such time as she may remarry or no longer need his assistance.

3. The wives and concubines of the wealthy, who are often mistreated, may appeal for legal release and secure alimony if the decree is granted.

Art. 2. A young daughter-in-law who is cared for by her husband's parents, may ask the local Women's Union to make an investigation in case of ill treatment. The local court may give her legal aid by fining her husband's parents or by censuring them.

Art. 3. With reference to the emancipation of oppressed maidservants there are three regulations, as follows:

1. If a maidservant is cruelly treated by her master, the local peasants' union may ask the local court to cancel the contract so that she may return to her family or her guardians, or the local court may find a better master for her—one who can pay her for services.

2. If a maidservant is beaten or injured by her master, the judge of the court should order the master to pay the medical fees.

3. A master cannot take his maidservant

as his concubine. If the maidservant is under the age of fifteen, the master may choose a husband for her if she agrees with his choice.

Art. 4. Prostitutes should be emancipated from the oppression of their procuresses. In order to extend legal assistance to them, the local court may fine the oppressor or cancel the slavish contract so that the oppressed may marry or find some other work.

Art. 5. With reference to the selling of an oppressed woman as a wife or to a house of prostitution, when such cases are detected by the Women's Union, the unscrupulous sellers will be severely punished by the court. Similar punishment shall be given to those who sell widows or orphan girls.

Art. 6. The right of inheritance in acquiring property of deceased persons should be extended to woman as announced by the administrative organs.

2. The only daughter has the right of inheritance in acquiring the property of her deceased father. None other can acquire it unless he has obtained the will of the deceased.

3. The son or the daughter of a widow has the full right to acquire his or her mother's property. If a widow does not want to remarry, the family of her deceased husband

should give her a pension, if they can afford to.

Art. 7. With reference to the relation between the Women's Union and the Peasants' Union, the Labor Union and the Students' Union, the regulations are as follows:

1. A village woman who is a concurrent member of the Peasants' Union and under the direction of the women's department of the Peasants' Union, may ask the Peasants' Union to protect her when she is oppressed by land owners, local rowdies, or the gentry.

2. Any woman who is a concurrent member of the Labor Union, may ask the Labor Union to protect her if she is oppressed by her employer.

3. Any woman who is a concurrent member of the Students' Union may ask the latter to support her if she is not satisfied with her school.

Art. 8. The relationship between the women's department of the Kuomintang and the Women's Union is defined as follows:

1. The women's department of the Kuomintang gives financial support to the Women's Union.

2. The women's department of the Kuomintang takes charge of the direction and the supervision of the Women's Union.

3. Any regulation adopted by the women's

department of the Kuomintang will be transferred to the Women's Union, passed and executed.

4. Under certain circumstances the Women's Union may act as an independent organ.

Art. 9. As to the educational movement, five points were reached:

1. To give relief to ignorant women and educate them.

2. To organize reading committees and to give vocational education to ignorant women if possible.

3. To educate ignorant women until they can read and write.

4. To ask for funds for the work from the educational organs of various places.

5. Those interested in educational affairs are expected to open schools for women, or write to the Women's Union, which may urge the government to open the schools.

Art. 10. Regulations for the Tien Tsu (natural-foot) Movement, will be announced later by the Tien Tsu Movement committee, which will be jointly organized by the Central Women's Department and the women's department of the provincial Kuomintang.

Naturally, when women begin to throw off their shackles, they are likely to go to extremes. What had taken place in the revolu-

tions of other countries repeated itself in China in a form just as dramatic as anything ever witnessed in other lands. There was a story from Changsha, the so-called hotbed of radicalism, which told of a woman who complained to the union about ill treatment which she had suffered at the hands of her husband. The husband was given a hearing and found guilty. He was punished by being made to parade through the streets, where he was ridiculed by the crowds. After the ordeal he went home and committed suicide. His family was angry and desperate, but powerless to cope with the union. Hence as a revenge, they sent for the wife to take part at the burial service. As soon as she appeared at the grave side she was instantly thrown into the pit and buried alive. This may be nothing more than a story, yet it shows that social revolt is always dreadful, because it is often the uncontrolled expression of revenge against social injustice and social grievances.

The Woman's Movement in China has made much headway during the last twenty years, especially the last two or three years. It has won much freedom and equality for women in China, although we must admit that such freedom and equality have yet to be defined and used to the best advantage. The new women of China to-day have gained much in

the way of educational opportunities. Whereas, twenty years ago men scarcely seemed to have thought that women needed education as well as men, they now not only admit women's claim thereto but insist that they must have it. Many occupations are now open to women, and they have demonstrated themselves capable and efficient. Some are found in government offices occupying high seats formerly held by men. Most important of all is the lightninglike awakening of the women to their rights and obligations. Great numbers of women of all classes all over the country have been shaken out of their lethargy and indifference and given a new consciousness of themselves as worthy individuals and rightful citizens of their country.

In spite of all these achievements, the battle of the women for democracy is not yet won. Look at the work they have to do. There is the question of polygamy and concubinage. Then there is the question of blind marriage and early marriage. There is the question of prostitution and girl slavery. And there are many other social inequalities and shames the removal of which would benefit women in particular and mankind in general. Indeed, what has been done is not even a fraction of what is yet to be done. Madame Sun may have our full sympathy when she said: "To-day Chi-

nese women are emerging. To the outsider it seems wholly miraculous. But although we who are working for the emancipation of Chinese women recognize the miracle that makes this rebirth at all possible, at the same time we recognize the stupendous difficulties involved. The whole weight of traditional forces is against us, traditional international forces, traditional economic forces, and in addition traditional social and family forces. It is not easy to be a leader of Chinese women to-day. We are beset not only by obstacles in the way of national and economic emancipation but also those great obstacles of criticism and personal attack, the open disapproval of the conservative classes who feel that a woman's life should be spent as it has always been spent, either in the drawing room or in the kitchen of the house of her lord."

What may be expected from the Woman's Movement in the future nobody can tell. Prediction is dangerous because we are living in a time of such continuous change. Since the starting of the Red Purification Movement, the activities of the Women's Unions have been considerably affected by a wave of reaction that swings to the other end. Many of the unions have been summarily disbanded along with other various unions on the charge of being "red." But the women in various parts

of the country are still carrying on educational and publicity activities even in the face of odds until such time as their full activities can be revived. This kind of loyalty makes one believe that, regardless of how long their period of inactivity may last, much of the gain will be conserved. There is great need of clear thinking, at this time of transition, and there is danger at a time like this of throwing all old customs and ethics overboard without understanding the necessity for creating new safeguards. There have been excesses in many instances in the past which demonstrate the lack of proper leadership. There is compelling need for more training and greater educational opportunities. Undoubtedly, the new women of China will continue to make mistakes in this experimental stage, but by mistakes they will learn. One need only read the story of grim struggle with its window-smashing and hunger strikes that accompanied the movement for women's rights in the West to understand what is happening in China to-day and what will happen in China to-morrow.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

WHAT is the significance of the People's Movements to the Christian Movement in China to-day? Generally speaking, the Christian Movement in all ages has been more or less bound up with the social and political developments of the land in which it exists. What has been true with other lands cannot be untrue with the present situation of the Christian Movement in China. Indeed, the vital issue before this movement in China to-day is presented by such popular movements as we have already sketched. The gigantic upheaval through which China is now passing is more than a political revolution. It represents a struggle for a fuller and richer content in the life of the masses, a stronger and freer national life, and a more worthy place in the family of nations. This twofold struggle is penetrating every phase of Chinese life, and is stirring the minds of the Chinese Christians to not a small extent. In the face of overwhelming social and political changes now going on in China, the Christian Church is being challenged more sharply than ever

before. The whole Christian Movement is today facing an extraordinary occasion in history which calls for prompt re-evaluation and readjustment. Other movements and countermovements within recent years have brought Christianity into a changed atmosphere and a new light. It has been severely criticized, attacked, and even maliciously maligned. This new situation is bewildering and perplexing, but not hopeless.

One of the foremost factors entering into this situation is undoubtedly the political awakening of the Chinese people. A spirit of national consciousness has been produced which is surging all over the country. The people are no longer indifferent to political affairs and are quite aware of the national dangers that are at China's door. That this is true is evidenced by the active participation in demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc., by all classes of people, intellectuals and illiterates as well. "China has suffered so much in these years, the heart of the people is reaching its breaking point in longing for a modern Moses to deliver the nation out of the oppression of Egypt to the Land of Promise. People are watching the Nationalist Movement with all eagerness and enthusiasm, believing that through it the salvation of the nation is to be realized. This movement is not only arous-

ing the consciousness of the few in the high places but it is penetrating to people in all walks of life; even the less educated masses have felt its thrill."

Another factor directly involved in the situation is that of international complications. The association of Christianity with imperialism in the mind of the Chinese has a direct bearing upon the Christian Movement. The so-called "unequal treaties" which the Chinese government was compelled to sign at the point of the bayonet are now objectionable to the Chinese, and in their thought Christianity and the unequal treaties are almost synonymous. Even among the Christians themselves, missionaries and Chinese, there is a growing feeling that the "special privileges" accorded to the Christian Church by the "toleration clauses" in the unequal treaties should be abolished, as these treaties were secured under duress. Indeed, the protection to Christians, as accorded by the unequal treaties, has put the Chinese Christians in such a wrong light that for the first time they are discredited by their fellow countrymen as agents of the imperialistic nations and "running dogs of the foreigners." It is not too much to say that the seeds sown by the beneficiaries of the "special privileges" are being reaped in such abundance that they have become a great

barrier to the march of the Christian Movement.

Then there is the opposition of the Anti-Christian Movement. This is different in nature from any similar movement of the past, in that the opposition to Christianity does not issue from nor is it fostered by the government, but comes from among the people. It is a popular movement. Although it sprang up from an intellectual few, it is no longer confined to them. Its spread has been rapid and cannot be put down by use of force, either Chinese or foreign. It seeks no aid from the government, but claims that it has the right to criticize and attack any religious movement so long as it does not go beyond the sphere of the law. It further contends that if Christians have the right to believe the anti-Christians have also the right to disbelieve; if the Christians enjoy the right to propagate, the anti-Christians also enjoy the right to oppose. So far as individual rights are concerned, everybody has freedom to express himself, approving or disapproving in whatever way he pleases. The result is that a conglomeration of criticism and attacks are being hurled at Christianity. Some are the result of half-understanding or misunderstanding, while others are not entirely without good reasons. It must be noted, however, that al-

though the movement is promoted with diverse motives, none of the attacks, so far as the writer's knowledge goes, has ever been directed at the person of Jesus. It is, therefore, a case that calls for introspection and careful diagnosis.

These are some of the contributing factors in the new situation confronting the Christian Movement in China to-day. Christian Chinese are finding themselves in a very awkward position. All sorts of charges have been made against them and they have been called all kinds of names. While feeling that as Christians they ought to be more patriotic after conversion than before, that is to say, they should be more resentful of the unfair treatment of their nation by outsiders, and more insistent upon their rights as human beings, they are being maligned as "running dogs of the foreigners" simply because of their connection with a supposedly foreign church. Hence the Christian Chinese are eating bitterness. Realizing the need of extricating themselves from such charges as "unpatriotic" and "anti-revolutionary" and, urged by the well-wishers of the Nationalist Movement, most of the churches in China have issued public statements, declaring their position clearly.

The following manifesto of the Christians

of Wuhan, hotbed of the Nationalistic Movement, was issued at the time when it was at the height of its power, namely, Christmas of 1926:

Manifesto of the Christians of Wuhan

We are all a part of the nation of the Chinese Republic. Owing to the dissatisfaction concerning the old traditional ethics we have become followers of Christianity. But, because it was transplanted from other nations, it has in its history become, unfortunately, identified with imperialism, and much misunderstanding has developed. Now, as we stand under the flag of "Blue Sky and White Sun" as a free people, we are no longer oppressed by the old conception which insisted that the church should have nothing to do with politics, and we have come to realize our duty in the big mission before us for the salvation of our nation. We, therefore, beg to clearly express our attitude in the following:

We believe that the national revolution under the leadership of Kuomintang is an immense moral force which stands for the salvation of our country and our people. For this reason, we, as a whole, support the Nationalist government, assist the national revolutionary army, and believe that the "Three People's Principles," the "Outline for the Development of China," and the international and foreign policy and program of the Kuomintang present the only scheme for the emanci-

pation of our people and the salvation of our nation. We also volunteer to participate in the People's Revolutionary Movement, for which we will work hard, externally to overthrow imperialism in order to build up an equal and independent nation on the earth; internally to overthrow militarism and a bad system of government, to better the living conditions of farmers and laborers, and to construct a just and progressive social order in which every individual may enjoy a living with plenty to eat and enough to wear; and for the equality of all human beings.

Jesus founded his religion on the spirit of liberty, love, sacrifice, and service; struggled against the force of sin, and was never willing to compromise. Originally, he was a great revolutionary force. In the past not a few of our fellow Christians devoted their lives to revolutionary work; some of them initiated the movement, and others sacrificed their lives for the cause; and even now we have no small number of Christians who are either leaders in the Nationalist government or officers in the army, or connected with other lines of revolutionary work. We recognize them as the best example of real Christians. As we remember these forerunners, we become bolder and braver and try harder to carry out our duty for the salvation of our nation. We wish most earnestly to participate in the revolutionary movement in accordance with the revolutionary spirit of Christ, who overthrew Pharisaism, the traditional ethics, the nobility who oppressed the common

people, and finally gave up his life on the cross.

We are also conscious of the fact that imperialism is not only the worst enemy of our people and our country, but that it is also the worst enemy of Christianity. History shows that it has oftentimes utilized the church to increase its power and force. When Christianity awoke to start a revolution, it was always crushed and oppressed. For instance, the attempts that were made to prevent Morrison from coming to China to preach, and recently the persecution by the imperialists of some open-minded missionaries because they expressed sympathy with the emancipation movement of the Chinese. Christianity and its work became the target of open attack by the imperialists in their homelands on the ground that the church furnished the dynamic of anti-imperialism and of the movement in China. This shows that imperialism, both in its nature and history, is fundamentally out of harmony with Christianity and is, therefore, our worst enemy. We are struggling not only for the emancipation of our people but also for the emancipation of our religion.

We are very happy to know that the National Christian Council has passed a resolution in favor of the abolition of the "unequal treaties." We as a whole support this resolution. We don't want Christianity to be built on the foundation of the gunboat policy. Neither do we wish to see the spreading of the gospel dependent upon the backing of any military force. The nature of the policy

of aggression and military force is fundamentally contrary to the principle of Christianity. Christianity can only be built upon a foundation of the morality and personality of its followers and the success of their work in the salvation of the nation and the world; and its strongest backing must be the sacrificial blood of its followers shed for the sake of their religion. Even if we are misunderstood and attacked by others on account of our faith, we would not seek the protection of Christianity by the "unequal treaties" which are capable of overthrowing our country and imperiling our race.

Should there be any foreign missionaries who are opposed to our national revolution, we wish them to go back to their own countries as soon as possible. The only thing we can do is to work hard to make the Christian Church independent of all imperialistic relationships.

With regard to the question of the rehabilitation of educational rights, we as a whole pledge our support and our best efforts for its success. We will bring all Christian schools under the management of the Chinese Christians, subject to the regulations of the Chinese government, everything concerning the administration and the curricula of these schools to be in accordance with the educational system of the Chinese government.

Finally, we wish to speak a few words in regard to the Anti-Christian Movement which is promoted by some of our fellow countrymen. The make-up and quality of Christianity

are very complicated. It cannot help having some reactionary elements. During its history it has acquired certain rituals and forms that are not quite suited to the nature of the Chinese people; and, furthermore, there are also bad elements in the church who do not live up to the standard of the church and who act in ways contrary to the teachings of the church, thus becoming a disgrace to the whole religion. Meanwhile we admit our weakness and our sins. We also admit that these are the inevitable shortcomings of every big organization. The first thing that Jesus, the Founder of our religion, taught was that we must repent. So we recognize the Anti-Christian Movement to be our candid friend. With regard to their criticism, we hold the spirit of the ancient teacher who said, "If you have blundered, you must repent; if you have not blundered, you must try harder." We are closely watched by those outside. Inside the church we are prompted by a desire to save the nation and the world. We will bend every effort to work for the reformation of Christianity. On the negative side we will improve the ritual, theology, organizations, and methods of the church; on the positive side we will make our religion a religion which is suitable to the spirit of our nation and the lives of our people. At the same time we will do our best to preserve religious liberty. We will never give up the faith which gave us peace of heart and courage for life, no matter what oppression or persecution comes from military powers or political authorities. We wish to

be like Cromwell, who saved his nation through his religion. We will never be like Judas, who betrayed his Lord for his own benefit!

The persecution of the anti-Christians and the pressure of the Nationalist Movement have undoubtedly prompted the issuance of the Wu-han statement. But under circumstances like these it was almost impossible for any Christian church in China to have remained unmoved and unresponsive to the currents of the time. It might be well noted, however, that similar but milder statements have also been published and circulated by Christian churches in other places where the pressure from the Nationalist Movement was less strong and where propaganda was less virulent. Although it would be misleading to say that the prevailing condition within the Christian churches in Wu-han was typical of the situation facing the Christian churches in China as a whole, it will nevertheless be fair to say that the general sympathy of the Christian Chinese in North and South alike has been with the Nationalist Movement and Nationalist aspirations, whether members of the Nationalist party or not.

Christian Chinese, being citizens of the country, never are willing to stay behind others in any patriotic movement. In fact, they

were not behind others who raised the much-talked-of question of "abolishing all unequal treaties." During the year 1925, when the preliminary meeting for the Customs and Extra-territoriality Conferences was held in Peking, all the Methodist churches in China spoke in one voice in a petition to the President of the United States of America, asking for negotiation of new treaties on the basis of "equality" and "reciprocity." Again, on the 2nd of July of the same year, all the Christian bodies in China issued the same kind of petition to the American President. Again, on the 11th of July, the mission bodies had a cablegram sent to the President, advocating "justice" and urging the revision of all unequal treaties made between China and the Western countries. After the unhappy May 30 incident, when the whole country was in a state of extraordinary excitement and vexation, co-operation and assistance were promised from Christians in Europe and America. The Chinese of the church as well as foreign friends were united in a struggle for the future enlightenment of China, alive with the revolutionary spirit of Jesus himself, and active in securing release from misery and entrance into happiness for the Chinese people. They were unanimous in their advocacy of "liberty," "equality," "love," and "sacrifice," to

be exercised in the dissolution of all personal conflicts, class discord, social evil, and racial suspicion.

In principle, there is really no conflict between Christianity and true nationalism. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in China, at their fourth quadrennial sessions of the Eastern Asia Central Conference, assembled in Shanghai, January 6, 1928, made the following comment:

"Christianity from the beginning has recognized the political rights of every country in which it has been planted. The representatives of every organized government have been recognized as powers ordained by God to whom should be rendered the things that are Cæsar's. The fervent patriotism of the Master weeping over the city of his own loved land has been inbreathed by the Christians of every land. There is no essential conflict between a sane nationalism, a true patriotism, and the Christian religion. The moral and social ideals of Christianity can find their fullest realization only as the citizens of every country attain full sovereign political rights and achieve real freedom. The honest acceptance and practice of the Christian religion make for political liberty, economic justice, and equality of social and intellectual opportunity. Christianity, therefore, is in no sense hostile to true

nationalism. Furthermore, the realization of legitimate national aspirations makes for a more vigorous type of religion."

Aside from the attack of the communists, which accuses Christianity of being "an instrument of capitalism created by the capitalist class for the sole purpose of drugging the mind and lulling the spirit of the submerged classes in society," much in what the anti-Christian movement says has elements of truth. There are two proverbs in Chinese: "Air will rush to fill a vacuum." "Pull out the fuel, and the fire will die." If the Christian churches in China were altogether free from imperfections, they would give no occasion for fault-finding. One of the leading Christian Chinese has well said:

"We make no apology when we say that neither is organized Christianity perfect nor are all missionaries saints. It does not take much trouble to prove this to be true. There is still much in the Christian Church that is unsuitable, uncongenial, unacceptable, and out-of-date. There are still many men and women who do not reveal the attractiveness and beauty of Jesus Christ, and who are more a hindrance than a help to the Christian cause. Indeed, there is much room for improvement in both the work and the workers.

"At the same time we cannot be blind to Christian achievements. It is to Christian missions that China owes her first modern schools and colleges, and up till the year 1905 —when the whole educational system of China was modernized—they occupied almost the whole field. It is remarkable how many of the men and women engaged in constructive work in China are the product of these schools. Liberal-minded politicians like Dr. C. T. Wang; outstanding educationalists like Dr. Chang Po-ling; leaders of the medical profession like the brothers New, Dr. Arthur Wu, Dr. Ida Kahn, and Dr. Mary Stone; ministers to Great Britain and the United States, like Mr. Alfred Sze and Dr. C. C. Wu—all of them are graduates of mission colleges, to which they frequently acknowledge their sincere debt of gratitude.

"The introduction of modern medicine to China is wholly the work of medical missionaries, who opened the first hospitals, translated the first modern medical textbooks, established the first scientific terminology, organized and staffed the first medical schools, trained the first Chinese nurses, and inaugurated the first public-health campaigns. To-day, out of approximately 500 modern hospitals in China, 301 are connected with missions, and there are over 800 missionary

physicians and nurses caring annually for nearly two million Chinese patients.

"Although philanthropic institutions have always been held in high esteem in China, the only institution for the humane treatment of the insane and the majority of the homes for lepers, for the blind, for the deaf and dumb, and for the tuberculars are operated by Christian forces.

"The newly awakened social conscience of China, as expressed in the investigation of factory conditions, the opening of social settlements, the widespread attempts at combating illiteracy, opium-smoking, and the like, has in almost every instance owed its inspiration and its 'drive' to the activities of Chinese Christian leaders."

These are facts, and facts cannot be denied. Nevertheless, we must not think ill of the anti-Christians, for they know no better. Moreover, the opposition and attacks of the anti-Christians have not been altogether without good effect upon the Christians. Indeed, from a spiritual standpoint, the Anti-Christian Movement has proven a real blessing in disguise to the Christians, for gains in the realm of the Spirit have far outbalanced the losses sustained. "In casting up the account of gains," says Mr. Edwin Marx, in the China

Christian Year Book of 1928, "it is fitting to acknowledge first those that are the direct outcome of the suffering and losses. By the baptism of fire which they received, many churches were startled out of their apathy. They were thrown upon their own resources; they were forced to take stock of their faith, their convictions, their purposes, and their strength. They were tested in a crucible. Influences which interrupted the work of missionaries increased the experience and self-confidence of the Chinese members. The seizure and the destruction of property proved that any special forms of protection which surrounded foreigners and Chinese Christians in the past were gone or fast going, and no artificial barriers separated Christians from the other people. The church has suffered and lost on the same basis as the rest of Chinese society. Had she been spared the material losses and the mental and spiritual travail that Chinese people generally were undergoing, she would stand discredited. She would have saved her life to lose it.

"Along four lines there have been distinct gains: In deepening spiritual experience. It has been a time of spiritual rebirth, and of firmer grasp on spiritual values. 'Chinese Christians have won a notable victory of the spirit,' a Chinese woman writes. '. . . This

in turn made me realize that we Christians had not lived a strong enough life. . . . The result was that I resolved to deepen my own spiritual life by living closer to my Saviour, and I think that many of our Christians made the same resolve. . . . So now our Bibles are read more regularly and family prayers are held in more homes, and we are endeavoring to do more personal work by winning souls for Christ.'

"In a clearer articulation of faith and aims. Under the compulsion of their own inner needs, and the challenges hurled at them from without, the Christians of China are entering a new phase of corporate consciousness. 'It [the church] is challenged to make up its own mind and state its own faith.' What is the essential Christian message? In view of the demands for accommodation to Chinese thought and customs and objections to the so-called accretions imported from the churches of the West, what is there in Christian thought and practice that must not be alienated or compromised? What should be the attitude of a Christian to his government, to political affairs, to economic conditions? What is involved in the principle of religious liberty, and how shall it be realized? What of the future relations between the church in China and the churches in the West? How

shall the church be organized, how nurture its members, how propagate itself? What kind of leadership is required, and how shall it be produced?

"The atmosphere of China to-day resounds with these discussions. In the individual's private study, in the prayerful retreat, in forum, in pulpits, in every kind of Christian gathering, in religious publications, in public manifestoes, in the secular press, and even in political and state councils, and in public mass meetings, such questions as those mentioned above are themes of earnest consideration. The main significance for the presence is not in the particular quality of the various utterances; nor even in the conclusions, for few final conclusions have yet been reached, although some of them are beginning to assume form. The significance is in the fact that so much of the institutional structure and thought forms of the past have been 'shaken down or shifted out of position' and that Chinese people, both Christian and non-Christian, are eagerly at work reconstructing in their own way. . . ."

It is too early to predict the final results, but so far as organization goes, beneficial effects produced within the Christian churches have been enormous. That this statement is

true can be corroborated by quoting one or two paragraphs from the pen of Dr. H. T. Hodgkin, a British friend of the author, and beloved by many Chinese, which appeared in the China *Christian Year Book* of 1928:

"For some years past there has been a steady movement in most of the missions and churches toward the appointment of Chinese for responsible positions in the church. This movement has been a slow one, not so much because of any question in the minds of missions on theoretical lines as to the desirability of such a movement, as because of the lack of conviction on the part of many missions that Chinese Christians are actually ready to assume these responsibilities and competent to take up the work which would devolve upon them. There has also been, in not a few cases, an unwillingness on the part of Chinese to accept responsible posts, due in part to a natural diffidence and in part to the fact that the conditions connected with the assumption of these duties have, in many cases, been unacceptable.

"The effect of the Nationalist Movement has been felt in overcoming these difficulties and in leading Chinese, partly because of the evacuation of missionaries, partly because of the efforts to meet the requirements for the registration of schools, and partly as a means of

meeting the general attacks from the anti-Christians, to assume responsibilities which, in not a few cases, they had previously shrunk from accepting. So far as our information goes, in a great majority of the cases, this quickening of the pace has proved satisfactory, and those who have taken over duties hitherto discharged by missionaries have often shown themselves far better fitted to do so than the missionaries or even they themselves had dared to hope. New occasions have taught new duties, and there can be no doubt that in many cases there has been a deepening of character and a discovery of fresh spiritual resources, enabling men to rise to meet the occasion.

"For a long time past educational missionaries have deplored the lack of a deep and sustained interest in education on the part of Chinese Christians generally. In demanding registration for all schools and the establishment of predominantly Chinese boards of control the government has stepped in to remedy this. The Anti-Christian Movement, through its attacks upon Christian assumptions, has done something in the same direction. The need for a trained leadership to meet the situation is becoming ever more apparent. At the same time new opportunities for service and new methods of co-operation

are opening up. Chinese Christians sitting on the new boards come to appreciate the problems of the educational work, and the church as a whole is rapidly moving toward the place where it will accept its rightful share in the educational life of the country and be prepared to make sacrifices to see that a Christian education is provided at least for its own young people. The questions connected with registration of Christian schools have produced a lot of thinking by Chinese on the problem of voluntary versus required religious teaching and other aspects of the educational program. No doubt the church is gaining much in this way through the events of the last year or two."

Perhaps through the difficult experiences of the recent years, the church in China is embarking upon a new period of life and is determined to face in its own way and through its own program the new and tremendous opportunity now ahead, refusing to slip into the position of being just one of the religious systems extant in China. To do this, certain urgent problems must be attended to and faced with courage and wisdom. Toward the solution of these problems a few of the new tasks that must be performed were suggested by Dr. C. Y. Cheng, moderator of the Church of Christ in China, in an address before a

meeting in Shanghai, January 5-7, 1928. These are his suggestions:

"There is the task of naturalizing the Christian Movement in China. Much of the present anti-Christian propaganda is anti-foreign. Foreign influence in China and its aggressive policy have alarmed many of the Chinese people and have caused a good deal of resentment. The foreign stigma upon the Christian Church has identified, in the minds of many, the church with Western imperialism and capitalism, and all the rest of it. The teachings of Jesus Christ, while having universal application, have also an Oriental flavor which should be quite congenial to the Chinese people. But, owing to the Western coloring, the Christian religion in China is still regarded as foreign. The naturalization of the Christian Church in China, therefore, is an immediate and urgent problem.

"There is the task of revaluation. For more than a century the Christian mission has been exerting an influence upon the life of the Chinese people not without some remarkable success. Missionaries have been sent, property has been acquired; special protection has been secured, and many other activities. With the rapid change of conditions both in the nation and the church there is a real need for a reconsideration of some of the

methods used for missionary purposes, and a revaluation of the practices of the Christian Church. Are the methods best suited to China? Are they meeting the need of the hour?

"There is the task of shifting the center of gravity. There seems to be a general agreement as to the principle of shifting the responsibility from the mission to the church, but there is a wide difference of opinion as to how this should be done. The missions are not equally in earnest about the matter; the churches have not reached equal attainment. There is fear lest the mission is not ready to give up a position that has been held so long; there is misgiving as to the readiness of the young church to shoulder the new responsibility: How to make the best possible use of native talent. How safeguard the Christian Movement that it shall remain Christian. How maintain the usefulness of the most friendly and most forward-looking workers from the West in China. These and many other matters need very careful attention and consideration.

"There is the task of presenting a united front to the non-Christian world. In view of the opposing forces without and limited strength within, it is of the utmost importance that the Christians show to the world a united

front with a spiritual unity to back it up. There is much to separate us: denominational cleavage; national and racial demarcation; theological disagreement. Unless the spirit of unity has taken possession of our hearts there is doubt of our eventual victory over the spiritual forces that are against us. We cannot belittle our differences; they are real, they are dear to our hearts, they have their significance and place. They are the expression of our religious experience; but when we are facing a common foe and a common task, our differences must sink into the background.

"There is the task of propagating the Christian faith. The evangelistic and missionary outreach is no new task of the church. It is sometimes regarded as a wee bit old-fashioned nowadays among some Christian people. Yet we believe there is a great need of re-emphasizing this particular part of the Christian Movement in China. Direct evangelism and missionary efforts must always occupy a large place in the program of the Christian Church. We cannot outgrow the last commission given by the Lord, 'Go ye into all the world!' And China is not too modern to need a Saviour! We are not so up to date as to be ashamed of the term 'Christian propagation,' which should include all forms of Christian activities and services. We wish especially to emphasize

the need of more earnest, more constant, and better prepared evangelistic work and missionary effort for leading men and women to allegiance to our Lord Jesus Christ. The spiritual life of the Chinese Christian Church is yet to be measured by its evangelistic and missionary keenness and fervor. There is need for improvement in evangelistic and missionary methods, but there can be no improvement in the spirit of evangelism!"

Upon the solution of these questions an indigenous church more adaptable to existing conditions in China will be built, and upon this new basis the church will have the much greater duty of presenting its message of salvation and of applying in social, economic, and political realms the principles for which Jesus lived and died. This is no light task. It behooves the Christian leaders to realize what heavy responsibilities they are shouldering. Upon the vision and guidance of the church depends China's future. At least now is the favorable time for the church to exert its moral influence in laying the foundations for a real democracy in the Far East, and she can ill afford to miss the opportunity which comes only once in centuries. Indeed, the Christian Movement in China to-day is standing at the crossroads. Will she lead in shaping China's destiny for the generations to

come or will she be satisfied to mean to the masses little more than Buddhism and Taoism have meant to them with a corrupt priesthood, superstitions, and what not? Such is the crisis facing the Christian Movement in China.

The unification of China, we are told, is now accomplished, and a period of reconstruction begins. The Nationalist Movement, we are again told, is an attempt to construct a new China worthy in the family of nations. "It is a movement to break down the erstwhile corruption, a spirit to recast and to overthrow old institutions and deeply rooted customs which are detrimental to the growth of Chinese national life. It aims to overcome illiteracy, ignorance, maladministration, backwardness, opium, etc. It aims to overthrow militarism from within and imperialism from without."

But how, one may venture to ask, can the accomplishment of all these reforms be insured? With all due respect to good government and economic blessings, one may again ask: "How can it be assured that the ideas and ideals of the 'Three Principles' can be carried out in spirit, as in letter? Who can say that the present government is free from squeeze and nepotism?" Are there officials who still practice these wrongs? As long as

human nature remains as it is the corrupt officials will remain what they are and will be what they have been unless they are transformed in heart and mind. Granting that a civil-service system may work to check the corrupt practice, it does not touch the heart of the problem. As far as history has shown, the final failure or success of a revolution depends upon the moral fiber of the men whom the revolution installs in government, and whether these men in power are morally capable of bearing the responsibility placed upon them.

The real success of the Nationalist revolution, we repeat, does not lie in its military success. China's troubles are not at all over; they lie deeper than immense poverty, large percentage of illiteracy, lack of easy communication, foreign imperialism, Bolsheviki propaganda. The question still remains: How are reforms to be instituted, and who are to institute them? All programs of reform are mere empty talk if they are not put into actual operation. Whether or not the reforms can be carried out rests with the moral integrity and courage of those in power. The keystone in China's rejuvenation, then, is to be found in education and religion. The real solution is the development of a public morale, a spirit of co-operation, and a loyalty to the common-

wealth by people in general and by officials in particular. It is the heart and soul and mind of the Man of Galilee that is greatly needed. Without a mind, a soul and a heart like Jesus, how can we expect to have men of devotion and sacrifice at the head of the government?

Here is China's challenge to Christianity now more than ever before. What is the reply? Will the church mobilize all her forces, foreign and Chinese alike, for the upbuilding of a new China which is after the heart of Jesus, thus wielding influence in Chinese national life? Or will she content herself to drift before the onrushing tide of materialism and communism which threatens her very life and influence? Which way will she choose?

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